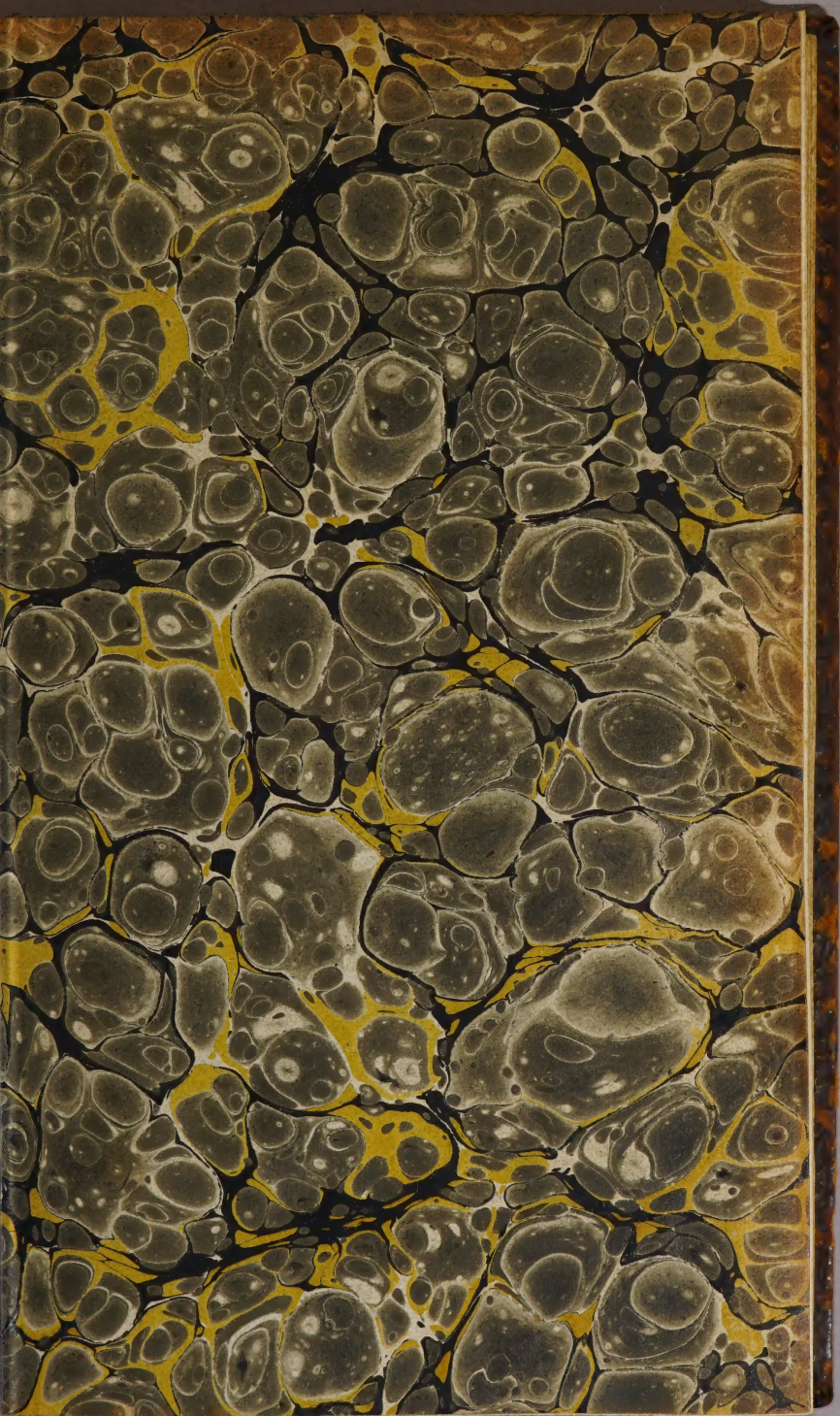
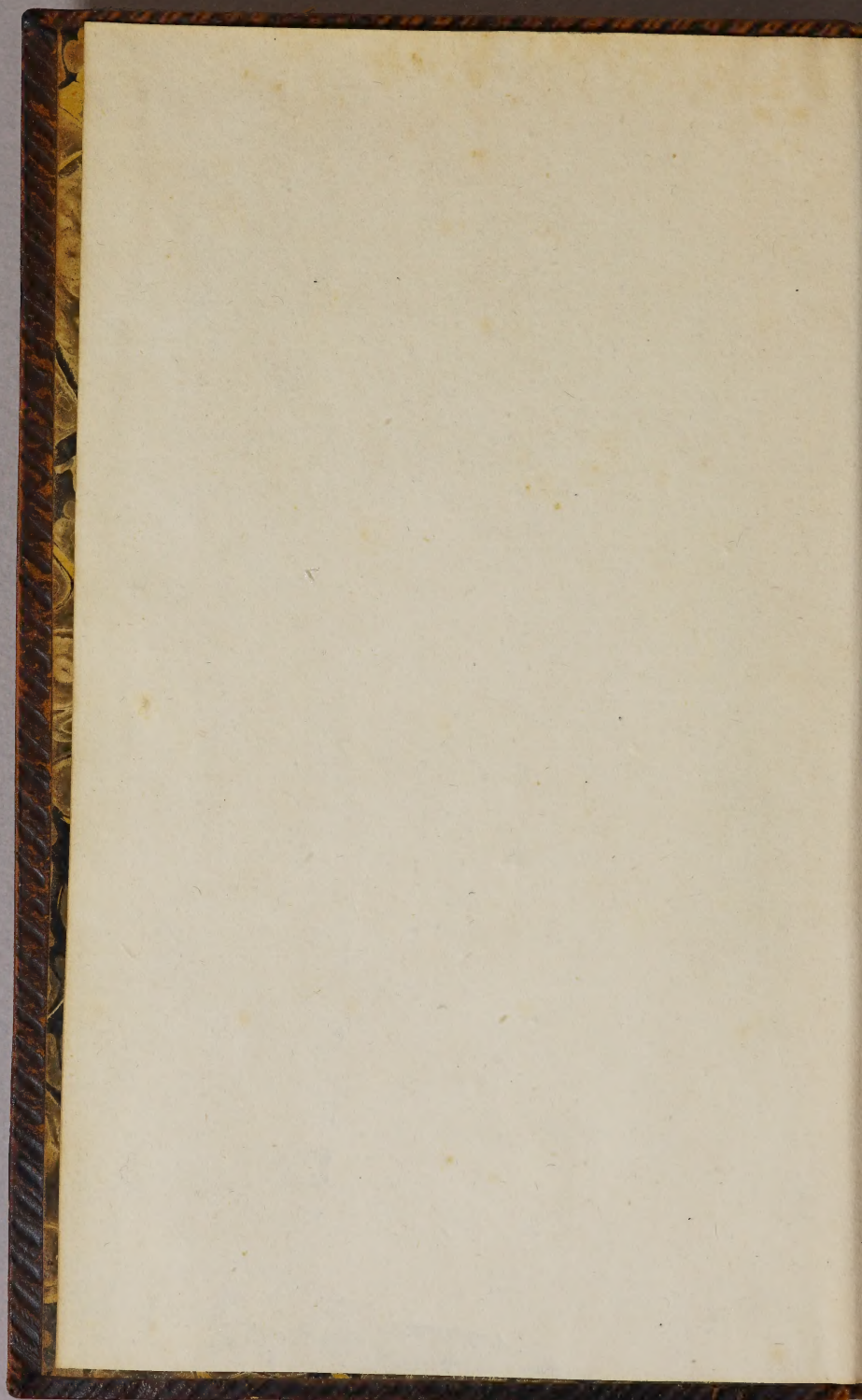
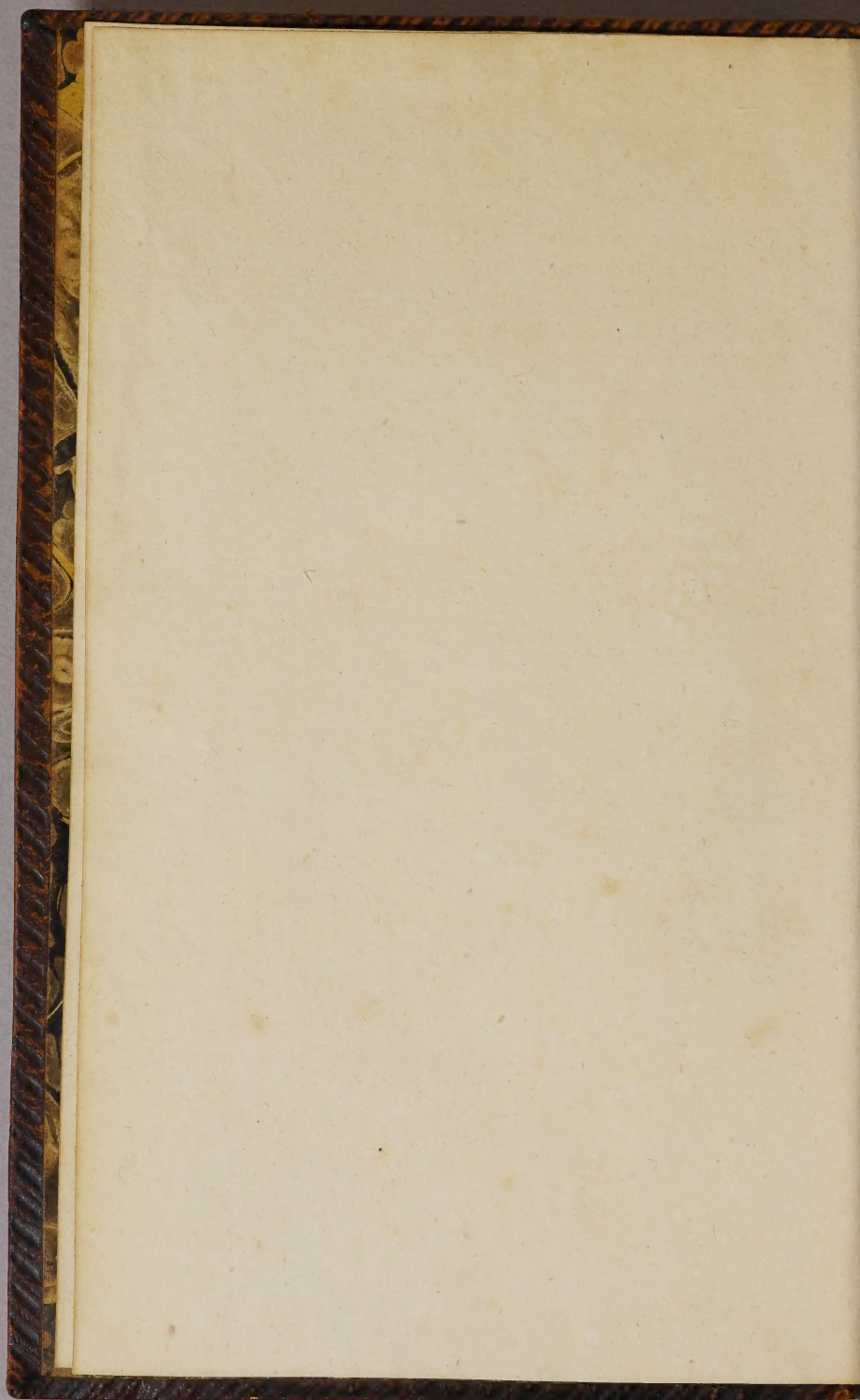


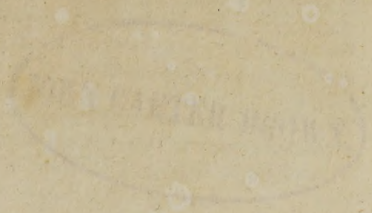


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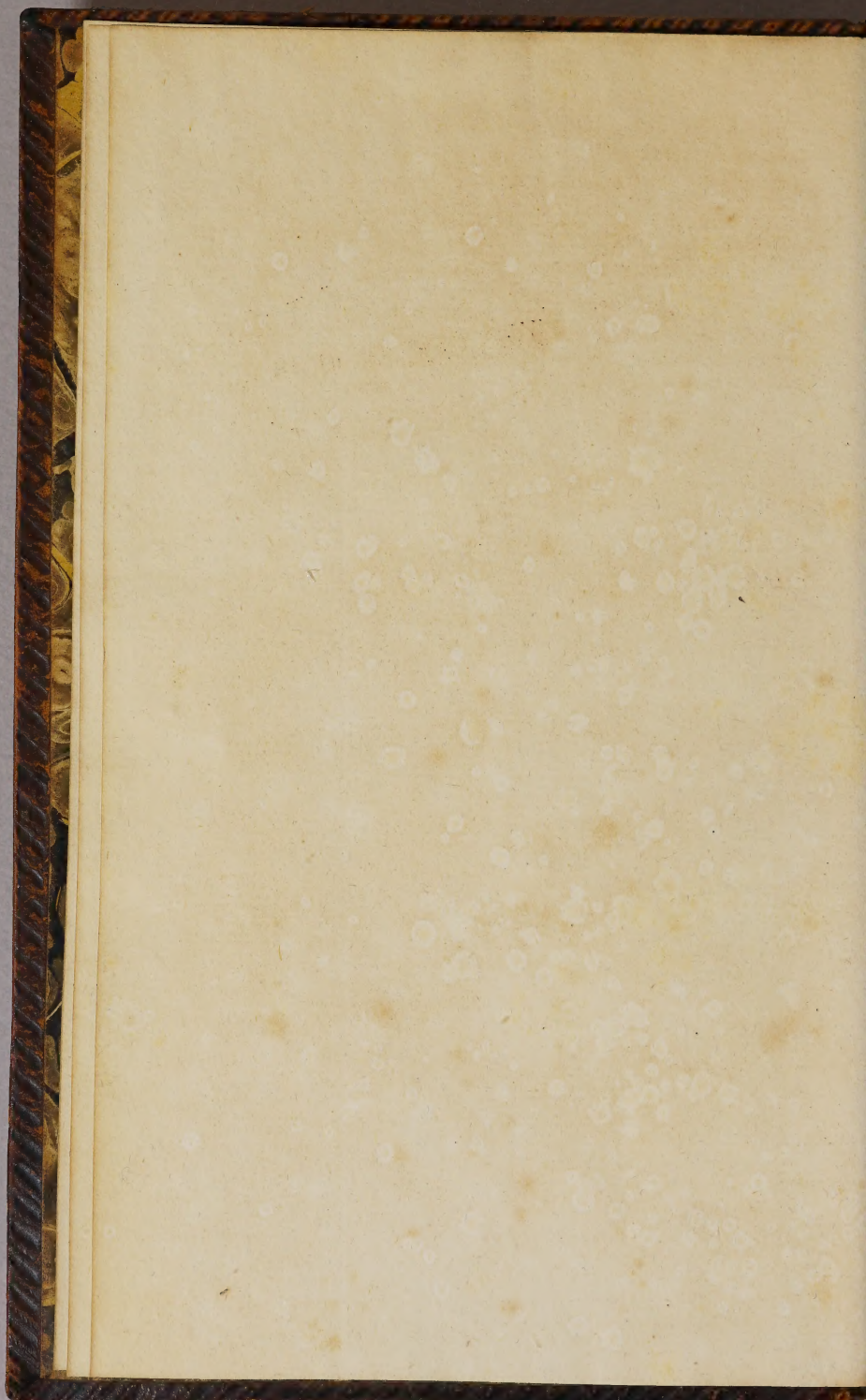
EXAMINATION

OF THE

SECOND VOLUME

OF

THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON



JOHN CARTER BROWN.

An Impartial

EXAMINATION

OF THE

SECOND VOLUME

OF

Mr. DANIEL NEAL's *History of the
Puritans.*

Just Publish'd,

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An Impartial
EXAMINATION
OF THE
SECOND VOLUME
OF

Mr. DANIEL NEAL's *History of the Puritans.*

IN WHICH

The REFLECTIONS of that *Author*, upon King JAMES I. and King CHARLES I. are proved to be groundless:

His Misrepresentations of the Conduct of the PRELATES of those Times, fully detected:

And his Numerous Mistakes in HISTORY, and Unfair Way of quoting his AUTHORITIES, exposed to Publick View.

By ZACHARY GREY, LL. D.

Reſtor of Houghton-Conqueſt in Bedfordſhire.

With an APPENDIX, in Answer to two Common, but Unreaſonable Complaints of the *Diſſenters* againſt the Eſtabliſh'd Church.

I. That in 1662, They were obliged to ſubſcribe to the Review of the *Liturgy*, before they could ſee it. II. That in King JAMES II's Time, their Aſſiſtance in writing againſt the *Papiſts*, was abſolutely reſuſed by the Liſenſers of the Preſs.

Τοῦτ' ἐν μοι Συγγραφεὺς ἔγω, ἄφοβ'· ἀδίκως, ἐλέυ-
σις, παρρησίας καὶ ἀληθείας φίλ'· ὡς ὁ κωμικὸς φησὶ,
τὰ σὺν, σὺν, τὴν σκάνην δὲ σκάνην ὀνομάσων.

Lucian. Quomodo Hilloria ſcribenda fit,

Edit. Bourdelotii, Pariſ. 1615.

*Fallitur egregio quisquis ſub Principe credit
Servitium: nuſquam Libertas gratior extat,
Quam ſub Rege pio* Claudian.

L O N D O N:

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at *Cambridge*. M.DCC.XXXVI.

EXAMINATION
SECOND VOLUME

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A N

Impartial Examination
OF THE
SECOND VOLUME
OF

Mr. DANIEL NEAL's *History of the
Puritans.*



THE Second Volume of Mr. Daniel Neal's *History of the Puritans* would not probably have made its appearance so soon, had he, before the Publication of it, read over the accurate Remarks upon his First, by a learned Member of the established Church; who, in the Opinion of all unprejudiced Readers, has fully demolished his Scheme, and prov'd almost to Demonstration, that a violent Attachment to Party, was one, if not the sole Motive, that engag'd him in the revival of a

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Con-

Controversy, which has slept for some Years, and for several good Reasons, should not have been brought again upon the Stage at this time.

The Dissenters (it has been thought) were once easy under that Indulgence, with which the Law has favour'd them; and the Members of the Church were far from grudging them any thing they were in possession of, so long as they used no Endeavours to *hoist their Toleration into an Establishment*. But when large Volumes shall be written with a design to inflame, and *conjure up* that Spirit of *Fanaticism*, which has not been heard of for some Years; when old Favours shall be little esteem'd, unless new ones may be thrown in, to turn the Scale in favour of the Dissenters; when false, or at least mistaken, or misrepresented Facts shall be produced, in order to prove the Hardships the *Puritans* and *Separatists* labour'd under, during the Period of his History; and no Notice taken of the Provocations given by them, how indifferently supported their Scruples were; and how much they were an over-match for their Adversaries in Scurrility and foul Language: When those very Principles, and that *darling* Spirit of Liberty (or rather Licentiousness) which once contributed to the over-turning of both the Monarchy and Episcopacy, shall be much applauded; Mr. Neal, I think, cannot justly take it amiss, if the Friends of the Establishment are upon their guard, if his Authorities are strictly examin'd, and his Facts fairly stated, and set in a true Light; which, tho' it may not contribute to the enlarging his History, will certainly enable him to make it more exact, whenever it comes to another Impression.

Had the learned Author of the *Vindication of the Government, Doctrine and Worship of the Church of England, established in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*; against the injurious Reflections of Mr. Neal,

in

History of the Puritans, examin'd. 3

in his first Volume of the History of the Puritans; been at leisure to have favour'd us with his Animadversions upon the Second, I doubt not, but his Labours would have been attended with equal Credit to himself, and Advantage to his Readers: and Mr. Neal from thence would have been directed to a proper Method of new modelling his History.

But since that is a Pleasure we are not to expect, I will give Mr. Neal the best assistance I am able, towards the making his History a more *Impartial* one at least, than at present it appears to be.

The Second Volume now under consideration, takes in the Reign of King *James I.* and a good Part of King *Charles's*. And how unjustly he has treated the Memory of those two Monarchs, the Reader, I believe, from his own Facts fairly stated, and compared with better Authorities, will be readily convinced.

King *James* seems to be represented under two disadvantageous, but very different Characters, of a *Puritan*, and a *Papist*; but how he can reconcile these two Characters, without owning too near a Resemblance of their Principles, I am not able to guess.

The *Royal Martyr* did not suffer enough from his Rebel Subjects, the Ax which separated his Head from his Body, was not *keen* enough, but his Memory must suffer a second Martyrdom, or Persecution at least, from the much *keener* Pen of our *Learned Historian*. He is stigmatized as a Favourer of Popery, and Arbitrary Principles, as a Prince not true to his Word and Promise; which Accusations from the Pen of *Milton*, *J. Goodwin*, *Ludlow*, the Author of the late History of *England* during the Reigns of the Royal House of *Stuart*, or any *professed Republican*, might have appear'd with a tolerable good Grace; but how far they

become Mr. *Neal*, must be left to himself, upon a more serious Consideration, to judge.

Tho' Accuracy and Exactness in History is not every Man's Talent, yet even when that is wanting, we might reasonably expect Truth and fair Dealing from an Author, who more than once, makes such large Pretences to *Impartiality*.

If to disguise or colour over Facts, which, under a fair Representation, would not bear the Test; if to warp, curtail, or mangle Authorities, to pick out of an Author what he likes, tho' never so slenderly supported, and omit taking notice even in that same Author, of what makes against him; if to dwell upon invidious Circumstances in the Character of an Adversary, and to pass over those that are favourable with Silence and Neglect; be Marks, and Characteristicks of a *Partial Historian*; I declare, I know no *Historian* more *Partial* than Mr. *Neal*, as I hope to convince the Reader, from a fair State of his Facts, and those few Remarks and Observations, I shall make upon them.

His first Attempt is to prove King *James* to have been a *Puritan* before his Accession to the *English* Throne. Is it probable, that this King, after such a *Series* of barbarous and inhumane Usage from his *Scottish* Subjects of that Persuasion, should ever have been a Favourer of their Church-Government, and Discipline? Could Treason and Rebellion be proper Methods of reconciling him to a *Kirk*, the leading Members of which had given him but too many Proofs of their Inclination to both. The ill Usage of his Mother, *Mary Queen of Scots*, no one can be ignorant of, who is the least conversant with the *Scotch* Historians of those Times. And their usual Treatment of himself, and his Friends was so abominable, that when Mr. *Neal* comes once to be acquainted with it, I should imagine, that even *he* would not undertake to justify it.

History of the Puritans, examin'd. 5

In * the Year 1582, [the 23d of *August*, the King was seiz'd at *Ruthven* by some of the Nobility, who carried him to *Halyrood House*, the beginning of *October*, knowing that the People of *Edinburgh* favour'd their Enterprize; as appear'd by the Triumph they made, † singing as they went up the Street, the 124th Psalm, *Now Israel may say, &c.* To which *Alexander Petrie* (a Bigot to Presbytery) adds, || ' That he heard some credible ' Persons (which were there at that time) say, ' that they added after the Psalm, *Now hath God ' delivered us, from the Devil, the Duke, and all his ' Men.* This Attempt at *Ruthven*, was justified by ' the Assembly, and declared to be of good service. Whilst the King lay under Constraint, two ' Ambassadors came from *France*; Monsieur *La Motte*, and Monsieur *Menevil*, to sollicite his Release; against whom ** the Ministers of *Edinburgh*, exclaimed bitterly in their Sermons.' And †† when the Magistrates at *Edinburgh*, at the King's Command, were desirous of feasting the Ambassadors before their return to *France*; ' To hinder this, the ' Ministers the *Sunday* before, proclaim'd a Fast to ' be kept the same Day; and to detain the People at ' Church, the three Ordinary Preachers, one after ' another, made a Sermon at *St. Giles's Church*, ' thund'ring Curses against the Magistrates and other Noblemen, that waited upon the Ambassadors by the King's Direction. And when the ' Ambassadors were return'd, they persecuted the

* *Spotswood's History*, p. 320. *Camden's Elizabeth*, p. 275.
Bishop *Bramhall's Fair Warning*, p. 26.

† *Spotswood's History*, p. 320.

|| *Alexander Petrie's Compendious History*, p. 431.

** *Spotswood*, p. 324.

†† Id. 1b. *Heylin's History of the Presbyterians*, p. 351. Bishop *Bramhall's Fair Warning*, p. 14. *Alexander Petrie*, p. 443.

6 *Mr. NEAL'S II^d Vol. of the*

‘ Magistrates with the Censures of the Church, and
‘ were with difficulty stay’d from proceeding in
‘ their Excommunications against them.’

In * the Year 1583, the King by the help of
Colonel *Stuart*, Captain of the Guard, got free
from their Restraint, and publish’d his Declara-
tion, touching the Attempt at *Ruthven*. † For
which Earl *Gowry* and others were executed.

And the Conspiracy of Earl *Gowry*, (the Son of
the Earl beheaded) to take away the King’s Life,
tho’ it has been called in question by some, yet
‖ Bishop *Spotswood* and Mr. *Camden*, I think, have
so far cleared that Point, that any unprejudic’d
Person might be satisfied, by referring to their
Authority. But lest it should not suffice for the
Conviction of Mr. *Neal*, I beg leave to add an Au-
thority or two, which he will not be able to gain-
say. We ** are told by Dr. *Plume*, in the Life of
Bishop *Hacket*, ‘ That the Bishop preached before
‘ King *James* upon the *Gowries* Conspiracy, *August* 5.
‘ And tho’ some People had denied the Treason,
‘ yet this good Bishop was assured, that Bishop
‘ *Andrews* once fell down upon his Knees before
‘ King *James*, and besought his Majesty to spare
‘ his customary Pains upon that Day, that he
‘ might not mock God, unless the Thing were
‘ true. The King replied, those People were
‘ much to blame, who would never believe a Trea-
‘ son, unless their Prince were actually murdered.
‘ But did assure him in the Faith of a *Christian*,
‘ and upon the Word of a King, their treasonable
‘ Attempt against him was too true.’ To which we

* *Spotswood's History*, p. 325, 326.

† *Spotswood*, p. 332, 333.

‖ *Spotswood's History*, p. 459, 460. *Camden's Elizabeth*, p.

590.

** Bishop *Hacker's Life*, printed before his Sermons, p. 8.

History of the Puritans, examin'd. 7

may add Bishop Burnet's Authority, which I believe will have the greatest weight with our Historian. 'Gowry's * Conspiracy, says he, was by them charged on the King as a Contrivance of his, to get rid of that Earl, who was then held in great Esteem: But my Father, who had taken great pains to enquire into the Particulars of that Matter, did always believe it was a real Conspiracy. One thing which none of the Historians have taken Notice of, and might have induced the Earl Gowry to have wished to put King James out of the way, but in such a disguised manner, that he should seem rather to have escaped out of a Snare himself, than to have laid one for the King, was this: Upon the King's Death, he stood next to the Succession to the Crown of England; for King Henry VIIth's Daughter, that was married to King James IV. did after his Death marry Dowglass Earl of Angus: But they could not agree, so a Pre-contract was pronounced against him. Upon which, by a Sentence from Rome, the Marriage was voided, with a Clause in favour of the Issue since born under a Marriage *de facto*, and *bonâ fide*; Lady Margaret Dowglass was the Child so provided for. I did peruse the original Bull confirming the Divorce. After that, the Queen Dowager married one Francis Steward, and had by him a Son, made Lord Methuen, by King James V. In the Patent he is called *Frater Noster Uterinus*. He had only a Daughter, who was Mother, or Grandmother to the Earl of Gowry: So that by this, he might be glad to put the King out of the way, that so he might stand next to the Succession of the Crown of England.'

* Bishop Burnet's History of his own Time, p. 18.

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Their Clergy were so insolent to the King, that I cannot perceive how they could be his Favourites. One of them named *Welch*, railed at the King in one of his Sermons, saying; * ' That he was ' possessed with a Devil; and one Devil being put ' out, seven worse were put into place; and that ' the Subjects might lawfully rise, and take the ' Sword out of his Hand; which he confirmed ' by the Example of a Father, that falling in a ' Phrensy, might be taken by the Children and ' Servants of the Family, and tied Hand and Foot ' from doing Violence.'

And † how well they used the *Scotch* Bishops, whom they would have made subject to their *Presbyteries*, let *Alexander Petrie* be Witness, to whom I refer the Readers.

But notwithstanding these Authorities fully convince me, that the King was always a Favourer of Episcopacy; yet it is very proper, that Mr. *Neal's* Authorities, in support of his contrary Assertion, should be produced, which are as follow.

C H A P. I.

NEAL'S *History of the Puritans*, Vol. II. p. 2. King James's Behaviour in Scotland, raised the Expectations and Hopes of all Parties: The Puritans relied upon his Majesty's Education, upon his subscribing the Solemn League and Covenant, and upon his Publick Declaration in the general Assembly at Edinburgh 1590. when standing with his Bonnet off, and his Hands lifted up to Heaven: [Calder-

* *Spotswood's History*, p. 332, 333.

† *Petrie's Compendious History*, p. 433.

History of the Puritans, examin'd. 9

wood's *History of Scotland*, p. 256.] He praised God, that he was born in the Time of the Light of the Gospel, and in such a Place, to be King of such a Church, the sincerest, the [purest] Kirk in the World. The Church of Geneva, (says he) keep Pasch and Yule [Easter and Christmas] what have they for them? They have no Institution. As for our Neighbour Kirk of England; their Service is an evil-said Mass in English; they want nothing of the Mass but the Liftings. I charge you my good Ministers, Doctors, Elders, Nobles, &c. to stand to your Purity, and to exhort the People to do the same. And I forsooth, as long as I brook my Life, shall maintain the same.

Whether King James, or the Author, or Authors of the * Abstract of Calderwood's History, is most to be credited, the candid Reader must be left to judge from King James's own Words, upon other occasions. ' Take † heed (says he) therefore my Son of such Puritans, very Pests in the Church and Commonwealth, whom no Deserts can oblige, nor Oaths or Promises bind, breathing nothing but Sedition and Calumnies, aspiring without Measure, railing without Reason, and making their own Imaginations, (without any Warrant of the Word) the Square of their Consciences. I protest before the great God, and since I am here upon my Testament, it is no Place for me to lye in, ye shall never find with any Higbland or Border Thieves, greater Ingratitude, and more Lyes and vile Perjuries, than with these Fanatick Spirits, and suffer not the Princi-

* Calderwood (says Bishop Nicholson, *Scotch Historical Library*, p. 197.) wrote a Church-History of Scotland, of which only an Abstract is published, *Edinburgh* 1678. The Author's entire Work is in six fair Vols. Folio, in the Library at *Glasgow*.

† Βασιλικὸν Δέσπον, 2d Part. King James's Works, Folio, p. 160.

'pals of them to brook your Land, if you like to
'sit at rest; except ye would keep them for trying
'your Patience, as *Socrates* did an evil Wife.'

The King published his *Doron Basilicon* in the Year 1599; the Occasion of which the Reader will meet with in * *Spotswood*. And *Camden* says of this Book, 'That in it is most elegantly pourtray'd, and set forth, the Pattern of a most excellent, and every way accomplish'd Prince. Incredible it is, how many Mens Hearts and Affections he won unto him, by his correcting of it; and what an Expectation of himself he rais'd amongst all Men even to Admiration.'

But after all, 'tis probable that this *Declaration*, which is father'd by Mr. *Neal* (from *Calderwood*) upon King *James I.* might be hammer'd in the same Forge, with those two *Famous Proclamations*, issued forth in the Names of † 'Francis and Marie, King and Queen of Scots, Dauphin and Dauphiness of Viennois;' in favour of the *Reformation* in Scotland, tho' both of them were professed Enemies to the *Reformation*. And if these *Reformers* could falsify in one Case, as 'tis plain they did from this Instance, (*Alexander Petrie*, a zealous *Presbyterian*, having given us the *Proclamations* at large, dated at *Dundee*, the 14th Day of *December*, and of their Reigns the Second, and the 18th Years 1559. 'Which || two *Proclamations*, he tells us, he had not seen in Print, but had them by him, with the Signet whole and entire, which he receiv'd amongst the Papers of *John Erskin* of *Dun* :) Why might they not falsify in another?

But the King's Words, upon another Occasion, plainly discover the Improbability of this Account.

* *Spotswood's History*, p. 457.

† *Alexander Petrie's Compendious History of the Church*, p. 215.

|| *ib.* p. 216.

History of the Puritans, examin'd. 11

‘ Tho’ * I have liv’d amongst these Men, ever
‘ since I was ten Years old, yet since I had ability
‘ to judge, I was never of them ; neither did any
‘ thing make me more to condemn and detest their
‘ Courses, than that they did so peremptorily dis-
‘ allow of all Things, which had at all been used
‘ in *Popery*: For my part, I know not how to an-
‘ swer the Objections of the *Papists*, when they
‘ charge us with Novelties, but truly to tell them
‘ their Abuses are new ; but the Things which they
‘ abused, we retain in their Primitive Use, and
‘ forsake only the Novel Corruption.’

At another time he said ; † ‘ It pleased him, to
‘ enter into a Gratulation to the Almighty God,
‘ for bringing him into the Promised Land, where
‘ Religion was purely professed, where he sat a-
‘ mong Grave, Learned, and Reverend Men,
‘ not as before, as elsewhere, a King without State,
‘ without Honour, and without Order, where beard-
‘ less Boys would brave him to his face.’

And we find him declaring elsewhere, ‖ ‘ That his
‘ Mother and he from their Cradles had been haun-
‘ ted with a *Puritan Devil*, which he feared would
‘ not leave him to his Grave: And that he would
‘ hazard his Crown, but he would suppress those
‘ malicious Spirits.’

Neal *ibid.* in his *Speech to the Parliament* 1598,
he tells them, he minded not to bring in Papistical and
Anglicane Bishops.

This is grounded upon as slender an Authority,
as the Declaration before-mention’d, which appears
I think from what has been already observed. To
which I shall add one Passage from the King’s
Speech in the *Star-Chamber*, June 20th, 1616.

* The Sum and Substance of the *Hampton-Court Conference*,
by Dr. Barlow, p. 74.

† *Ibid.* p. 4.

‖ *Peck’s Deliderata Curiosa*, Lib. 5. p. 44.

'Tis * a sign (says he) of the latter Days drawing on, even the Contempt of the Church, and the Governors and Teachers thereof now in the Church of *England*; which I say in my Conscience, of any Church, that ever I read or knew of, present or past, is most pure, and nearest the *Primitive* and *Apostolical* Church, in Doctrine and Discipline, and is sureliest founded upon the Word of God, of any Church in *Christendom*.'

The *Papists* next lay claim to him, if we will take Mr. *Neal*'s Word for it, but with as little Reason as the *Puritans*.

Neal, p. 3. The *Papists* put the King in remembrance, that he was born of Roman Catholick Parents, and had been baptized with the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of Rome; that his Mother, of whom he usually spoke with Reverence, was a Martyr for the Church; and that he himself upon sundry Occasions had expressed no dislike to her Doctrines, tho' he disallowed of the Usurpations of the Court of Rome over Foreign Princes. That he had called the Church of Rome his Mother-Church; that therefore they presumed to welcome his Majesty into England, with a Petition for an open Toleration.

How far King *James* affected the *Romish* Religion, or encouraged a Toleration of it, we shall be able to judge from his own Authority. In his Speech to the Lords and Commons at *Whitehall*, March 21. 1609, he has the following Words: 'As † for Religion, we have all great cause to take heed unto it; *Papists* are waxed as proud at this time as ever they were, which makes many to think they have some new Plot in hand; they are waxed so proud, that some say, no Man dare present them, nor Judges meddle with them,

* King *James*'s Works, p. 554.

† King *James*'s Works, p. 544, 545.

History of the Puritans, examin'd. 13

‘ they are so backed and upholden by divers great Courtiers. It is a surer and better way to remove the Materials of Fire, before they be kindled, than to quench the Fire when once it is kindled. I do not mean by this, to move you to make stronger Laws, than are already made, but see those Laws may be well executed that are in force, otherwise they cannot but fall into contempt, and become rusty, &c.

‘ As for Recusants, let them all be duly presented without Exception: for in Times past, there hath been too great a Connivance, and forbearing of them, especially of great Mens Wives, and their Kin and Followers. None ought to be spared from being brought under the Danger of the Law, and then it is my part to use Mercy, as I think convenient.’

In his first Speech to his Parliament the 19th of *March* 1603, before he had been provoked by that hellish Conspiracy, formed against him by the *Papists*; he plainly discovers the small Affection he bore to that Religion.

‘ Of * one Thing I would have the *Papists* of this Land to be admonished, That they presume not so much upon my Lenity (because I would be loth to be thought a Persecutor) as thereupon to think it lawful for them daily to increase their Number and Strength in this Kingdom, whereby if not in my time, at least in the time of my Posterity, they might be in hopes to erect their Religion again. No, let them assure themselves, that as I am a Friend to their Persons, if they be good Subjects; so I am a vowed Enemy, and do denounce mortal War to their Errors; and that as I would be sorry to be driven by their ill Behaviour from the Protection and Conservation of their Bodies

* King *James's* Works, p. 492.

‘ and

‘ and Lives ; so will I never cease, as far as I can, to
 ‘ tread down their Errors and wrong Opinions. For
 ‘ I could not permit the encrease and growing of
 ‘ their Religion without first betraying of myself,
 ‘ and mine own Conscience, &c. and therefore
 ‘ would I wish all good Subjects, that are deceiv’d
 ‘ with that Corruption, &c. to assure themselves,
 ‘ that so long as they are disconformable in Reli-
 ‘ gion from us, they cannot be but half my Sub-
 ‘ jects, be able to do but half Service, and I to
 ‘ want the best half of them, which is their Souls.’

To this may be added a very material Proof, the
 Attempt of the *Papists* to set aside the King’s Suc-
 cession to the Crown of *England*. ‘ About * the
 ‘ Year 1601, Pope *Clement VIII.* sent his *Breves*
 ‘ (as they call them) into *England*, warning all the
 ‘ Clergy and Laity, that professed the *Roman*
 ‘ Faith, not to admit after the Queen’s Death any
 ‘ Man, how near soever in Blood, to be King,
 ‘ unless he should bind himself by Oath, to pro-
 ‘ mote the *Catholick Roman* Religion. And Bishop
 ‘ *Spotswood* informs us, † that all that were Enemies
 ‘ to the Protestant Religion, the *Jesuits* especially,
 ‘ busied to stir up a Party against the King and his
 ‘ Title to *England*. They had lost all hopes of
 ‘ gaining his Affection, or obtaining any hopes of
 ‘ Toleration, when he should come to the Crown:
 ‘ and had found their Writings and Pamphlets for
 ‘ the *Infanta* of *Spain* her Right, to move few or
 ‘ none. Thereupon they fell to treat of a Marriage
 ‘ betwixt Lady *Arabella*, and *Robert* Prince of
 ‘ *Savoy*: and that not succeeding, to speak of a
 ‘ Match betwixt her, and a Grandchild of the Earl
 ‘ of *Hertford*’s, judging that their Pretensions being
 ‘ conjoin’d, many would befriend them, to the

* *Spotswood’s History*, p. 464. *Camden’s Elizabeth*, p. 596.

† *Spotswood’s History*, p. 470.

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‘ excluding the King of *Scots*. But the Queen, who
‘ truly favour’d his Right, dashed all these Pro-
‘ jects, and caus’d an Eye to be kept upon that
‘ Lady, and such as resorted unto her.

* ‘ *R. Parsons* the *Jesuit*, publish’d a Conference
‘ about the next Succession to the Crown of *Eng-*
‘ *land*, in two Parts. ’Twas printed 1593-94, in
‘ 8vo. under the Name of *N. Doleman*, the second
‘ Part of which was to prove that the *Infanta* of
‘ *Spain* was the legal Heir to the Crown of *England*:
‘ the penning whereof did much endear him to the
‘ King of *Spain*. But so soon as this Book peep’d
‘ forth, which was accounted a most heinous and
‘ scandalous Thing, the Parliament enacted, 35
‘ *Elizab.* That whosoever should be found to have
‘ it in his House should be guilty of High-Trea-
‘ son; and whether the Printer of it was hang’d,
‘ drawn, and quarter’d, (as some say he was) I
‘ cannot affirm.’

And can *Mr. Neal* after all this Proof to the contrary, (to which an infinite Number of Authorities to the same purpose, might be added) suspect King *James* to have been a Favourer of *Popery*? With the same Reason, and by the very same Rule, we might conclude *Mr. Neal* to be a Favourer of Monarchy, and Episcopacy; notwithstanding all the Virulency we meet with against three admirable Monarchs, and some eminent Bishops, in his two late Performances; for no other Reason, than the noble stand they made against those that were Bigots to the Separation; and for their strict Adherence to the Church established.

After this, he proceeds to support his Evidence in favour of the hopes of the *Puritans*, in the following manner.

* *Wood's Athen. Oxon.* Vol. I. p. 207. 1st Edit. London 1691.
Camden's Elizabeth, p. 482.

Neal,

Neal, p. 5. *While the King was in his Progress to London, the Puritans presented their Millenary Petition, so called, because it was subscribed by a thousand Hands, tho' there were no more than 800 Hands out of 25 Counties.*

Dr. Fuller a Favourite Historian, says, * 'There were but 750 Preachers hands to it, but those all collected out of 25 Counties; however, for the more Rotundity of the Number, and Grace of the Matter, it passeth for a full Thousand: which no doubt the Collectors of the Names (if so pleased) might easily have compleated.' Mr. Strype informs us, † 'That they were some hundreds short.'

Neal, *ibid.* - *It is entitled, The humble Petition of the Ministers of the Church of England, desiring Reformation of certain Ceremonies, and Abuses of the Church. The Preamble sets forth, "That neither as factious Men, affecting a popular Party in the Church, nor as Schismatics aiming at the dissolution of the State Ecclesiastical; but as the faithful Ministers [Servants, Pet.] of Christ, and loyal Subjects to his Majesty, they humbly desired the Redress of some [diverse, Pet.] Abuses."*

Dr. Fuller gives an Account of their unfair Dealing in procuring hands to this Petition. ‖ 'Sure I am, says he, the Prelatical Party complain'd, that to swell a Number, the Nonconformists did not chuse, but scrape Subscribers; not to speak of the Ubiquitariness of some hands, the same being always present at all Petitions. Indeed to the first, only Ministers were admitted, but to the latter Brood of Petitions, no hand which had five Fingers was refused. He observes of a subse-

* Church-History, Book 10. p. 7.

† Life of Whitgift, p. 565.

‖ Fuller's Church-History, Book 10. p. 24.

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‘quent Petition, that it went farther than this, as
‘not being for the paring, pruning, and purging,
‘but for the extirpating and abolishing of Bishops,
‘and conforming Church-Government to a foreign
‘Presbytery.’

* And Mr. *Strype* observes, ‘That soon after,
‘Copies of this Petition were sent forth into all
‘Quarters of the Realm, with false Suggestions,
‘as if the King had lent this their Motion a fa-
‘vourable Ear, and given it a kind of consenting
‘Entertainment: and as tho’ in all this, they had
‘done nothing, whereunto they were not animated
‘and encouraged by some of special Credit about
‘His Highness. But by this Course (as some then
‘observed) they had alter’d the Name of the afore-
‘said Schedule, and of an intitled Petition to his
‘Majesty, they had made it a Covert kind of
‘Libel: whereby, securely as they thought, they
‘might deprave and slander, not only the Commu-
‘nion-Book, but the whole Estate of the Church,
‘as it stood reformed by the late Sovereign.’ *

Neal, p. 7. *The University of Oxford published an Answer to the Ministers Petition, entitled, An Answer of the Vice-Chancellor, Doctors, Proctors, and other Heads of the University of Oxford to the [Humble, in Tit.] Petition of the Ministers of the Church of England, desiring Reformation; [of certain Ceremonies and Abuses in the Church. Omitted by Mr. Neal] Dedicated to the Archbishop, the Chancellors of both Universities, and the two Secretaries of State.*

‘Tis dedicated to the King, with a Preface
‘addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to
‘the Lord *Buckhurst*, Lord High-Treasurer of
‘England, and Chancellor of the University of

* *Life of Whitgift*, p. 565.

18 Mr. NEAL'S II^d Vol. of the

‘ Oxford, the Lord Cecil of *Esingden*, Principal Secretary to his Majesty, and Chancellor of the University of *Cambridge*, Lords of his Majesty’s most Honourable Privy-Council.’

We have next a Specimen of this Gentleman’s great Accuracy in History, who tells us, *Neal*, p. 10. (from *Strype’s Life of Whitgift*, Append. N^o. 43.) That *the old Archbishop was doubtful of the Event, for in one of his Letters to Cecil Earl of Salisbury, he writes, &c.*

Cecil was not at that time Earl of Salisbury, but Lord Viscount Cranburn, and created Earl of Salisbury * upon the Feast of St. George, at Greenwich, 1604. and the mistake is not Mr. *Strype’s*, but Mr. *Neal’s*, as appears from the Place referred to in *Strype’s Whitgift*, App. Book 4. N^o. 43. p. 230. The Title of this Letter: ‘ The Archbishop of Canterbury to Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury, concerning the Endeavours of the Puritans, with the King, and his own Diligence in behalf of the Church, December 12, 1603.’

His next Attempt is to discredit the most authentic Relation that is extant, of the *Hampton-Court Conference*.

Neal, Ibid. *The Divines for the Church appear’d in the Habits of their respective Distinctions, but those for the Puritans, in their Furr Gowns, like Turkey-Merchants.*

† ‘ The Bishop of London in his Remark upon their Habit, alledged a place out of M. Cartwright, affirming, that we ought rather to conform ourselves in Orders and Ceremonies to the Fashion of the *Turks*, than to the *Papists*, which Position he doubted, they approved, because contrary to the Order of the Universities, they

* *Sanford’s Genealogical Hist. of the Kings of England.* p. 523. *Peerage of England*, Vol. 1. p. 198.

† *Barlow’s Sum and Substance of the Conference, &c.* p. 27.

‘ appeared

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‘ appeared before his Majesty in *Turky-Gowns*, not
‘ in their scholastick Habits, sorting to their De-
‘ grees.’

Neal, p. 11. *The Account of this Conference was published only by Dr. Barlow, who being a Party, (says Fuller) set a sharp Edge on his own, and a blunt one on his Adversaries Weapons; Dr. Sparks and Dr. Reynolds complain'd, that they were wronged by that Relation, and Dr. Jackson declared, that Barlow repented upon his Death-Bed, of the Injury he had done the Puritan Ministers at the Hampton-Court Conference. Peirce, p. 153, 154.*

The Improbability of this Story may be judged of, from the Character of his Author, when compared with the much better Authority of Mr. *Strype*, whose Impartiality Mr. Neal I hope will not call in question. And he informs us*,
‘ That an authentic Relation was drawn up by
‘ *Barlow* Dean of *Chester*, and that by the Arch-
‘ bishop's own Order, which therefore we may
‘ conclude, was carefully review'd by himself;
‘ and that it might be the more exact and com-
‘ plete, it was completed and enlarged by the
‘ Writer, (before it was published) with the Notes
‘ and Copies of the Bishop of *London*, the Deans of
‘ *Christ-Church, Winchester* and *Windsor*, and the
‘ Archdeacon of *Nottingham*.’

Neal, p. 12. *In the Common-Prayer Book, his Majesty had some Scruples about the Confirmation of Children, as if it imported a Confirmation of Baptism; but the Archbishop on his Knees replied, That the Church did not hold Baptism imperfect without Confirmation. Bancroft said, it was of Apostolical Institution, Heb. vi. 2. where 'tis called the Doctrine of laying on of Hands.*

From his subsequent Account of this Conference, in which the Reader will meet with some things

* *Life of Whitgift*, p. 571.

bordering upon Contradictions, one would imagine, the King could make no scruples on that side of the Question, and he can't forbear (even in the Paragraph here referred to) curtailing the Sense of his Authors, by omitting the following Words cited by Bp. Barlow and Dr. Fuller*; 'So did Mr. Calvin expound that very Place, who wished earnestly the Restitution thereof in those reformed Churches, where it had been abolished.'

Neal, p. 14. Mr. Patrick Galloway, who was present at the Conference, gives this Account of it to the Presbytery of Edinburgh; That on January 12th, the King commanded the Bishops, as they would answer it to God in Conscience, and to himself upon their Obedience, to advise among themselves of the Corruptions of the Church in Doctrine, Ceremonies, and Discipline, who, after Consultation reported, that all was well; but when his Majesty with great Fervency brought Instances to the contrary, the Bishops on their Knees with great earnestness craved, that nothing might be alter'd, lest Popish Recusants punished by Penal Statutes for their Disobedience, and the Puritans punished by Deprivation from their Callings and Livings for Nonconformity, should say, they had just Cause to insult upon them, as Men who had travailed to bind them to that, which by their own Mouths now was confessed to be erroneous.

I should have thought Bishop Barlow's the only published Account, from Mr. Neal's Authority, p. 11. But here we have an Account (and that published too, I suppose) of Mr. Patrick Galloway's; and how consistent it is with what Mr. Neal mentions, p. 10, 11. and elsewhere, of the King's behaviour towards the Puritans, I beg of him to consider. When the King (he tells us) conferred with the Bishops, he behaved with Softness, and a great Regard to their

* Sum of the Conference, p. 11. Fuller, B. x. p. 9.

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Character; but when the Puritan Ministers stood before him, instead of being Moderator, he took upon him the Place of Respondent, and bore them down with his Majestick Frowns and Threatnings, in the midst of a numerous Croud of Courtiers.

This Account of Mr. Patrick Galloway's differs much from Mr. Robert Johnston's*, a Scotch Historian, who seems to me to confirm Bishop Barlow's in every particular.

Neal, p. 15. Bancroft could no longer contain himself, but falling upon his Knees, begg'd the King with great Earnestness to stop the Dr's [Raynolds's] Mouth, according to an ancient Canon, that Schismaticks are not to be heard against their Bishops.

' The Bishop of London (says Barlow, p. 26.)
' much moved to hear these Men, who some of
' them the Evening before, and the same Morn-
' ing, had made semblance of joining with the
' Bishops, and that they sought for nothing but
' Unity, now strike to overthrow (if they could)
' all at once, cut him off, and kneeling down,
' most humbly desired his Majesty first, that the
' ancient Canon might be remembred, That *Schisma-*
' *tici contra Episcopos non sunt audiendi.*'

Neal, p. 17. With regard to preaching, the Doctor complain'd of Pluralities in the Church, and pray'd that all Parishes might be furnished with preaching Ministers. Upon which Bancroft fell upon his Knees, and petitioned his Majesty, that all Parishes might have a praying Ministry, for preaching is grown so much in fashion, (says he) that the Service of the Church is neglected, besides Pulpit Harangues are very dangerous, &c.

' Here my Lord of London kneeling, (says Bar-
' low, p. 53, 54.) humbly desired his Majesty (be-
' cause he saw, as he said, it was a time of moving

* *Johnstoni Hist. Rer. Britannicar. p. 379, 380.*

‘ Petitions) that he might have leave to make two
 ‘ or three; first, that there might be amongst us
 ‘ a *Praying Ministry*: for whereas there are in the
 ‘ Ministry many excellent Duties to be performed,
 ‘ as the Absolving of the Penitent, Praying for,
 ‘ and Blessing of the People, Administring of the
 ‘ Sacraments, and the like; it is come to that pass
 ‘ now, that some sort of Men thought it the only
 ‘ Duty required of a Minister, to spend the time
 ‘ of speaking out of a Pulpit; sometimes God wot
 ‘ very undiscreetly and unlearnedly: and this, with
 ‘ so great injury and prejudice to the Celebration of
 ‘ *Divine Service*, that some Ministers would be
 ‘ content to walk in the Church-yard till Sermon-
 ‘ time, rather than to be present at publick Prayer.
 ‘ He confessed, that in a Church new to be plan-
 ‘ ted, *Preaching* was most necessary; but among
 ‘ us, now long established in the Faith, he thought
 ‘ it not the only necessary Duty to be performed,
 ‘ and the other to be so profanely neglected and
 ‘ contemn’d.’

Neal, p. 21. *Dr. Reynolds and his Brethren were called in, not to dispute, but to hear the few Alterations or Explanations in the Common-Prayer Book already mentioned; which not answering their Expectation, Mr. Chaderton fell on his Knees, and humbly pray’d, that the Surplis and Cross might not be urged upon some Godly Ministers in Lancashire.*

What reason there was for this Request in favour of some Godly Ministers in *Lancashire*, I hope Mr. Neal will be convinced from Bishop Barlow’s and Mr. Strype’s Account, which follows*: ‘ Only
 ‘ Mr. Chatterton of Emanuel College kneeling, re-
 ‘ quested, that the wearing the Surplis, and the
 ‘ use of the Cross in Baptism, might not be urged
 ‘ upon some Honest, Godly, and Painful Ministers

* Sum and Substance of the Conference, p. 99. *Life of Whitgift*, p. 574.

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‘ in *Lancashire*, who fear’d, if they were forced
‘ unto them, many whom they had won to the
‘ Gospel would slide back into Popery again; and
‘ particularly instanced in the Vicar of *Ratcliffe*;
‘ (he could not have light upon a worse :) For not
‘ many Years before, he was proved before my
‘ Lord *Archbishop*, as his *Grace* there testified, and
‘ my Lord *Chancellor*, by his unseemly and unreve-
‘ rent Usage of the Eucharist, dealing the Bread out
‘ of a Basket, every Man putting in his Hand and
‘ taking out a Piece, to have made many loath the
‘ Holy Communion, and wholly refuse to come to
‘ Church.’

Neal, p. 21. Thus ended this mock Conference, for
it deserves no better Name, all things being concluded
privately between the King and the Bishops, before the
Puritans were brought upon the Stage, to be made a
Spectacle to their Enemies, and born down with calm
Reason and Argument, but with the Royal Authority,
I approve or I dissent, the King making himself both
Judge and Party.

How consistent this is with what Mr. *Neal* ob-
serves before from Mr. *Patrick Galloway*, p. 14. I
leave the Reader to judge.

To what has been already observ’d concerning
the King’s Behaviour at the *Hampton-Court Confe-
rence*, Bishop *Barlow* adds*, ‘ That his Majesty’s
‘ Gracious Conclusion was so piercing, as that it
‘ fetch’d Tears from some on both sides.’

Neal, p. 22. The Puritans refused to be concluded
by this Conference; for which he quotes a Book, en-
titled, *A Christian and modest Offer of Conference with
the Prelates*, printed 1606.

This Book was dedicated to the King, and
Dr. Burgess makes this Observation upon it†,

* Sum and Substance, &c. p. 106.

† Preface to *Dr. Burgess’s* Answer rejoined, to that much ap-
plauded of a nameless Author, bearing this Title; A Reply to
Dr. Morton’s gentle Defence of three nocent Ceremonies, &c. p. 11.

' That Master *Jacob*, the supposed Author of this
 ' Book, might securely brave us, with this his Offer
 ' of Conference : for howsoever we might willingly
 ' accept it, in hope of gaining our Cause ; yet he
 ' knew well that this could not be entertain'd with-
 ' out leave of the State : and as well, that the State
 ' would never suffer these things to be questioned of
 ' Unlawfulness, which Dr. *Raynolds*, Dr. *Chaderton*,
 ' Dr. *Sparke*, and the rest of the most Eminent of
 ' this Nation, which seem'd to favour that Party,
 ' would neither affirm to be unlawful, nor be
 ' known, that any of that side were so weak as to
 ' think so : and then Mr. *Jacob* quarrelleth the
 ' Choice of these learned Persons ; who shall assure
 ' us, that they will either agree in the Choice of
 ' their Disputants, or rest in their Judgments.'

Neal, p. 25. Six Weeks after, [Cartwright] died
 his great Antagonist, Dr. John Whitgift, Archbishop
 of Canterbury ; he was educated in Pembroke-Hall,
 Cambridge.

He was first of *Queen's College*, then of *Pembroke-
 Hall*, and Fellow of *Peter-house*. [*Strype's Life of
 Whitgift*, p. 4.]

Neal, Ibid. He complied with the Times in *Queen
 Mary's Reign*, though he disapproved of her Religion.
 How far he complied with the Times, Mr. *Strype*
 informs us in the following Words :

* ' There was to be a Visitation of that Univer-
 ' sity [*Cambridge*] by Authority of Cardinal *Pole*,
 ' (now Archbishop of the Church of *Canterbury*,
 ' and the Pope's Legate,) in the Year 1556. in
 ' order to the suppressing of pretended Heresy, that
 ' had taken no little Root there, by the means of
 ' *Bucer* and *Fagius*, late publick Readers in *Cam-
 ' bridge*, and for the urging of Popery upon Fellows
 ' and Scholars, and obliging such as were qualified

* *Life of Whitgift*, p. 5.

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‘ to take the first Tonsure. *Whitgift* was one of these, being this Year 1557, Master of Arts; and foreseeing his Danger, not only of Expulsion out of the University, but further of his Life, *since he could not comply with what would be required*: he resolved with himself to leave the College and depart abroad, and sojourn among the famous Exiles in *Strasburgh, Frankfort, or other Places in Helvetia, or elsewhere.*’

‘ Dr. *Perne* the Master understanding *Whitgift's* Purpose, and observing him fixed in his Religion, by the many good Arguments he used, he bad him keep his own Counsel, and by no means utter his Opinion whereby he might be brought into question, and he would conceal him, without incurring any Danger to his Conscience in that Visitation, nor being forced to leave his Studies.’

Neal, p. 26. *He was a severe Governor of the Church, pressing Conformity with great Rigour; he regarded neither the Intreaties of poor Ministers, nor the Intercession of Courtiers, but was steady to the Laws, and outwent them in the Cause of Uniformity. Fuller says, he would give fair Words and good Language, but would abate nothing.*

And *Fuller* says*, ‘ That he was the worthiest Man that ever the *English* Hierarchy did enjoy.’ Dr. *Hutton* Archbishop of *York*, a moderate Man, in a Letter to the Bishop of *Durham*, speaks of him as follows†; ‘ That many no doubt might and did lament, that his Majesty had lost a faithful and good Counsellor, the Church a great and notable Pillar and Patron, and himself had special Cause to sorrow for the want of such an ancient, constant and dear Friend. And Dr. *Babington* Bishop

* Church History, Book x. p. 25.

† Life of *Whitgift*, p. 579.

of Worcester, in his Funeral Sermon *, ' That he
 ' lived and died in great Reputation, and particu-
 ' larly happy for being esteem'd for his Wisdom,
 ' Learning and Piety by both his Sovereigns,
 ' Q. Elizabeth and K. James, who both consulted
 ' with him in all Matters of the Church, and making
 ' Laws and Orders for the well governing of it,
 ' and likewise in always taking his Advice for pro-
 ' per Men to be placed in the chief Preferments of
 ' it; and who seeing the great Danger of the over-
 ' throw of the Religion happily reformed at the
 ' first, viz. of the Doctrine of it by the *Papists*,
 ' and the Discipline and Constitution of it by the
 ' New Reformers, devoted himself, his Pains, his
 ' Studies, his Learning, his Interest, to the prefer-
 ' ving of it; wherein he had Success to the end of
 ' his Days, tho' through much Opposition.'

Neal, p. 26. *His Grace grew weary of the invidi-
 ous Employment, and being afraid of King James's first
 Parliament, died, as it is said, with Grief before it
 met, desiring rather to give an Account of his Bishop-
 rick to God than to Man.*

How unhappy is this poor Archbishop, whose
 Words and Actions have always the bad Fortune
 to be misrepresented by Mr. Neal! Take the
 Words from *Strype*, as follow †; *Et nunc Domine
 exaltata est anima mea, quod in eo tempore succubui,
 quando mallem Episcopatus mei reddere rationem, quam
 inter homines exercere*: ' My Soul is lifted up, that
 ' I die in a time, wherein I had rather give up to
 ' God an Account of my Bishoprick, than any
 ' longer to exercise it among Men.'

Let the Reader judge which is the most faithful
 Translation; and I can see no reason why it should
 be suspected that he *died of Grief*, for he was born
 in the Year 1530, and died in 1603, aged 73 Years.

* *Strype*, Ibid.

† Life of *Whitgift*, p. 578.

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Neal, Ibid. He was at Court the first Sunday in Lent, but going to the Council-Chamber to dinner, [after long fasting, Omitted] he was taken with the dead Palsy on the right Side, and with the loss of his Speech, upon which he was carried immediately to Lambeth.

* 'He was first carried to the Lord Treasurer's Chamber, where he was for a while, and then convey'd to Lambeth.'

Neal, Ibid. The King visited him on Tuesday, but not being able to converse, he lifted up his Eyes and Hands, and said, *pro Ecclesiâ Dei*, which were his last Words.

† 'At Lambeth, on Tuesday (says Strype) he had the honour of a Visit from the King, who out of the Sense of the great Need he should have of him at this particular Juncture, (now he had laid such a Scheme for Reformation) told him, he would pray to God for his Life; and if he could obtain it, he should think it one of the greatest temporal Blessings that could be given him in this Kingdom.'

Neal, p. 27. Though he was a cruel Persecutor of the Puritans, yet compared with his Successor Bancroft, he was a valuable Prelate.

By the word *Persecution* in Mr. Neal, the Reader must understand, that he means no more than a commendable Zeal for the Establishment. And had the good Archbishop been (what he really was not) a Persecutor, I am sure our Historian has much exceeded him in the Persecution of his Memory. But in answer, let us hear what was said of him by one of his Chaplains.

‡ 'With him is buried the famousst Glory of our English Church, and the most kind Encourager

* Life of Whiggift, p. 578.

† Id. Ib.

‡ Life of Whiggift, p. 578.

‘ of Pains and Study ; a Man, happy in his Life
 ‘ and Death, loved of the Best while he lived, and
 ‘ heard of God for his Decease ; most earnestly
 ‘ desiring, not many Days before he was stricken,
 ‘ that he might not live to see the Parliament, so
 ‘ near as it was.’ And *John Stow* adds *, ‘ That
 ‘ he was a Man born for the Benefit of his Coun-
 ‘ try, and Good of his Church ; wherein he ruled
 ‘ with such Moderation, as he continued in his
 ‘ Prince’s Favour all his Life, suppressing such new
 ‘ Sects, as in his Time began to rise ; as by his
 ‘ learned Work, written by him against such
 ‘ Schisms does appear.’

Sir *George Paul*’s Character of him, (who knew him perfectly well) confirms what is said by the Authors above-mentioned †: ‘ Happy sure it was
 ‘ for the crazy State of the Church, not to meet
 ‘ with too rough and boisterous a Physician ; for
 ‘ he preserved with Conserves and Electuaries, and
 ‘ some gentle Purges, that which with strong Pur-
 ‘ ges, in all likelihood might have been in dan-
 ‘ ger.’ And the Author professes he could not suf-
 ‘ ficiently express that Archbishop’s singular Wis-
 ‘ dom and Clemency ; albeit some younger Spirits
 were of opinion, that he was much to blame in
 that kind, and imputed it to his Years, and want
 of Courage. || *Robert Johnston*, a *Scotch* Historian,
 gives him a great Character, for which I refer the
 Reader to the Margin.

But

* Id. ib.

† Sir *G. Paul*’s Life of Archbishop *Whitgift*, p. 82.

|| *Johnstoni Rer. Britannicar. Histor. Lib. xi. p. 380. Ecclesiæ
 habenas per bis denos annos sapienter moderans ; vir proculdu-
 bio tanto fastigio dignissimus : Clarior Virtute, quam Genere.
 In Academia Cantabrigiensi, ad supremos Scholæ honores eve-
 ctus, literas sacras profitendo magnam famam Religionis, Mode-
 rationis, Eruditionis, Prudentiæ, Diligentiaque tulit. Mortuo
 Grindallo Archipræsule, auctoritate, doctrinâ, famâ in ejus locum
 suffectus ; ut imminutam Ecclesiæ dignitatem *Therapeutarum*
 culpâ, in veterem integritatem restitueret. Tum perpetuâ sanc-
 titate*

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But these are the Testimonies of Friends, and for that reason, may probably be objected against by Mr. Neal; and in order to his Conviction, I will take the liberty of adding the Testimony of one, who was no great Favourer either of Episcopacy or Monarchy. He styles him * 'a holy, grave, and pious Man, and he informs us, That this good Man expired the nine and twentieth of *February*, in *David's* Fulness of Days, leaving a Name like a sweet Perfume behind him : What *Whitgift*, says he, strove to do by Sweetness and Gentleness, *Bancroft* did persevere in with Rigour and Severity.'

Neal, p. 27. *Before the Meeting of the Parliament, the King issued out two Proclamations, one commanding all Jesuits, and Priests, to depart the Kingdom, Jan. 22. (it should be Feb. 22.) in which he was very careful to let the World know, that he did not banish them out of hatred to the Catholick Religion, but only for maintaining the Pope's temporal Power over Princes.*

Here again he has a sting at the King's Inclination to Popery ; but how just it is, the Words of the Proclamation will shew † : ' That, with great Audacity, they exercise all Offices of their Profession, both saying Masses, persuading our Subjects from the Religion established, and reconciling them to the Church of *Rome*, and by consequence seducing them from the true Persuasion, which all Subjects ought to have of their Duty and Obedience to us. Wherefore, forasmuch as by way of Providence, to preserve their People from being

' cor-

titate sua, tum editis Libris, &c. meritis, pietate in Deum, industriæ ingeniique ornamentis, modestiâ, curâque religionis tuendæ, ut per omnium annalium monumenta celebris esset : unde hauriant boni & sapientes Præsules exempla omnium virtutum.

* *Arthur Wilson's Life of King James*, p. 8.

† *King James's Proclamations*, publish'd 1609. p. 61, 62.]

' corrupted in Religion, Piety and Obedience is
 ' not the least Part of Royal Duty ; we hold our
 ' selves obliged, both in Conscience, and in Wis-
 ' dom, to use all good means to keep our Subjects
 ' from being infected with superstitious Opinions in
 ' Matters of Religion, which are not only pern-
 ' cious to their own Souls, but the ready way to
 ' corrupt their Duty and Allegiance ; which can-
 ' not be any way so surely performed, as by keep-
 ' ing from the Ministers and Instruments of that
 ' Infection, which are the Priests of all sorts, or-
 ' dained in foreign Parts, &c.'

*Neal, p. 30, May 23, There was a Debate in the
 Upper House [of Convocation] upon the Cross in
 Baptism, when Dr. Rudd, Bishop of St. David's,
 stood up, and made the following Speech for Charity
 and Moderation.*

How fairly he has handed this Speech to us, the
 Reader will be able to judge, from his Omissions
 included in *Brackets*, and supplied from Mr. *Peirce*,
 from whom he pretends to copy it ; and the wor-
 thy Mr. *Tho. Baker's* MSS. (Vol. 19. Folio, p. 567,
 568, &c.) " For my part, I acknowledge the
 " Antiquity of the Use of the Cross, as mentioned
 " in *Tertullian*, and after him in *St. Cyprian*, [who
 reckoned of *Tertullian* as his Master, inasmuch
 as when he called for his Works, he was wont to
 say, *Da Magistrum, Peirce.*] [Likewise in *Basil*,
MSS. Baker.] " *St. Chrysostome, Austin*, and others.
 " I also confess the Original of the Ceremony to
 " have sprung by Occasion [*Reason of, Baker*] of
 " the Pagans, who reproach'd the Ancient *Chri-*
 " *stians*, for believing in Christ crucified, and [*add,*
 " *MSS. Baker,*] that in Popery it has been super-
 " stitiously abused : And I affirm, that it is in the
 " Church of *England* admitted and entertained
 " by us, and restored to its ancient Integrity, all
 " Superstition abandoned."

" Like-

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“ Likewise I wish, that if the King’s Highness
“ shall persist to impose it, all would submit [*them-*
“ *selves*, MSS. *Baker*] to it (as we do) rather than
“ forego the [*their*. MSS. *Baker*] Ministry in that
“ behalf. But I greatly fear, by the Report that I
“ hear, that very many learned Preachers, whose
“ Consciences are not in our Custody, nor to be
“ disposed of at our Devotion, [*by our Direction.*
“ MSS. *Baker*,] will not easily be drawn there-
“ unto; of which Number, if any shall come in
“ my Walk, I desire to be furnished before-hand
“ by those that be present, with sufficient Reasons
“ to satisfy them (if it be possible) concerning
“ some Points, which have been now delivered.

“ First, [*of all*. MSS. *B. Peirce*.] Whereas sun-
“ dry Passages of Scripture have been alledged for
“ the Cross; *as God forbid that I should rejoyce, save*
“ *in the Cross of Christ*; and divers others of the
“ like Sense; if any of the adverse Opinion fall
“ into my Company, and say, that these Scrip-
“ tures [*Scripture Speeches*, MSS. *B. Peirce*] are
“ figurative, implying the Death of our Saviour
“ Christ, [*with the Effects and Fruits thereof*. MSS.
“ *B. Peirce*.] and to draw an Argument from
“ them, to justify the Sign [*Signet Cross*. MSS. *B.*]
“ of the Cross in the Forehead, is an insufficient
“ kind of Reasoning, and a Fallacy: What An-
“ swer shall I make unto them? [*shall be made to*
“ *them, to persuade them?* MSS. *B.*]

“ Secondly, Whereas I have observed upon pre-
“ sent Relation, that the Impugners of this Cere-
“ mony, were heard at large in the Conference at
“ Hampton-Court, and having objected the Exam-
“ ple of *Hezekiah*, who broke in pieces the brazen
“ Serpent, after it had been abused to Idolatry;
“ and therefore [*so*, MSS. *B.*] the *Sign of the Cross*,
“ which was not brought into the Church by God’s
“ [*Christ’s*, MSS. *B.*] express Command, as the bra-
“ zen Serpent was, but was from the beginning a
“ meer

“ meer Invention of Men, ought now to be taken
 “ away, by reason of the superstitious Abuse,
 “ which is sustained in Popery ; they received An-
 “ swer, that King *Hezekiah* might have preserved
 “ it, abandoning the Abuse of it, if it had pleased
 “ him; and consequently it is in the King's Majesty's
 “ power to abolish this Ceremony, having been
 “ abused, or to retain it in the manner aforesaid.
 “ Hereunto I say, that I was one of the Conference,
 “ yet I was not at that part of the Conference,
 “ where [*when. MSS. B. Peirce*] those that stood
 “ for Reformation, had access to the King's Ma-
 “ jesty's Presence, and liberty to speak for them-
 “ selves, for *that I and* [*with. MSS. B.*] *some other*
 “ *of my Brethren the Bishops were secluded from that*
 “ *Day's Assembly* ; but I suppose it to be true, [*so,*
 “ *MSS. B.*] as it has been formerly reported. And
 “ I for my own particular admit the Consequence
 “ put down above. [*in the Answer aforesaid,*
 “ *MSS. B.*] Now [*Howbeit, MSS. B.*] I wish all o-
 “ thers abroad [*to be, MSS. B.*] as well satisfied
 “ herein as ourselves that be here present ; if any
 “ of the contrary Opinion shall come to me, and
 “ say, that the aforesaid Answer does not satisfy
 “ them, because they think there to be as great
 “ Reason now, to move them to become Petitioners
 “ to his Majesty for abolishing the Cross in Bap-
 “ tism, as there was [*then, MSS. B.*] to move the
 “ Godly Zealous in *Hezekiah's* Time [*Days, MSS. B.*]
 “ to be Petitioners for [*the, MSS. B.*] defacing the
 “ *Brazen Serpent*, because the Church-going *Papists*
 “ now [*living, MSS. B.*] among us, do [*as, MSS. B.*]
 “ superstitiously abuse the one, as the *Israelites* did
 “ the other ; what sound Answer shall I make them
 “ for their better Satisfaction ?”

Thirdly, “ Whereas it has been this Day alledged,
 “ that it is convenient and necessary to preserve the
 “ Memory of the Cross of Christ [*and consequently,*

“ MSS.

“ the Ceremonies, and Attire prescribed, MSS. B.
 “ Peirce,] they should be stiff, [*stand out stiff.*
 “ MSS. B. Peirce.] and choose rather to forego
 “ their Livings, and the Exercise of their Ministry,
 “ though I do not justify their doing herein, [*their*
 “ *doings therein.* MSS. B. Peirce,] yet surely their
 “ Service will be missed at such a time as need shall
 “ require us and them to give the right Hand of
 “ Fellowship one to another, and go Arm in Arm
 “ against the common Adversary.” [*That so there*
 “ *might be Vis Unita fortior. In which Case, of the want*
 “ *of their joint Labour with ours, there might arise Cause*
 “ *of some such doleful Complaint as fell out upon an Acci-*
 “ *dent of another Nature, in the Book of Judges, where*
 “ *it is said, For the Divisions of Reuben was great*
 “ *Thoughts of Heart, Judges 5.* MSS. B. Peirce.]

“ Likewise, consider who must be Executioners
 “ of their Deprivation? even we ourselves the
 “ Bishops, against whom there will be a great Cla-
 “ mour of them and their Dependants, and many
 “ others who are well affected towards them,
 “ whereby our Persons will be in hazard to be
 “ brought into Extreme [*Great, if not into Ex-*
 “ *treme,* MSS. B. Peirce,] hatred. [*Whereof what*
 “ *Inconveniencies may ensue, I leave it to your Wisdom to*
 “ *be considered.* MSS. B. Peirce.]

“ Also remember, that when the Benjamites
 “ [*Tho’ for their just Deserts, maintained a bad*
 “ *Cause,* MSS. B. Peirce,] were all destroy’d, sa-
 “ ving six Hundred, and the Men of Israel sware
 “ in their Fury, that none of them would give his
 “ Daughter to the Benjamites to Wife, though they
 “ suffered for their just Deserts, yet their Brethren
 “ afterwards lamented, and said, [*When their hot*
 “ *Blood was over, they lamented, and said,* MSS. B.
 “ Peirce,] There is one Tribe cut off from Israel,
 “ this day, and they used all their Wits to the

“ utmost

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“ utmost of their Policy, to restore that Tribe again.”

“ In like sort, if these our Brethren aforesaid shall [*should*, MSS. B.] be deprived of their Places for the Matter premised, I think we should bend our Wits to the utmost Extent of our Skill to provide some Cure of Souls for them, that they may exercise their Talents.”

“ Furthermore, if these Men, being divers Hundreds, [*as is bruited abroad*, MSS. B. Peirce,] should forsake their Charges, [*as some suppose they will*, MSS. B. Peirce,] Who I pray you should succeed them? Verily, I know not where to find so many able Preachers [*Pastors*, MSS. B.] in this Realm unprovided for. But suppose there were, [*but be it that so many may be found to supply these empty Rooms*, MSS. B. Peirce,] yet they might be more conveniently settled in the Seats of unpreaching Ministers, [*and so the Number of Preachers would be much increas'd*; MSS. B. Peirce.] But if they are put in the Places of these Men that are dispossest'd, it will follow, that the Number of preaching Ministers will not be multiplied. [*by this Supply*, MSS. B.] “ 2. The Church cannot [*would not in likelihood*, MSS. B. Peirce,] be so well furnished on a sudden. For tho' happily the new Supply may be of learned Men from the Universities, yet will they not be such ready Preachers for a time, nor so experienced in pastoral Government, nor so well acquainted with the Manners [*and Usage*, MSS. B. Peirce,] of the People, nor so Discreet [*every way*, MSS. B. Peirce,] in their Carriage as those [*the others*, MSS. B. Peirce,] who have already spent many Years [*abroad*, MSS. B. Peirce,] in their ministerial Charge.”

“ Besides, [*this*, MSS. B. Peirce,] forasmuch as in the Life-time of the late Archbishop of Canter-

“bury, these things were not so extremely urged,
 “but that many learned Preachers enjoy’d their
 “Liberty [*herein*, MSS. B. Peirce,] conditionally,
 “that they did not by Word or Deed openly disturb
 “[*disgrace or disturb*, Peirce,] the State established,
 “I would know a reason why they should now be
 “so generally [*punctually*, MSS. B.] and exceeding
 “straitly called upon, [*seeing these Men’s Labours are*
 “*the more necessary by so much as we see greater increase*
 “*of, &c.* MSS. B. Peirce,] especially as there is a
 “greater increase of Papists lately than heretofore.”

[*Again, consider that the Romanists, which differ from us in Substance of Religion, are not for Recusancy utterly dispossessed of all their Livelibood, but only have a Pecuniary Mulet imposed upon them, which many of them do easily bear as the Matter is used; I marvel why these Men, who dissent from us only in Ceremony and Circumstance, should be thereupon put to the loss of their whole Living and Maintenance.* MSS. B. Omitted by Mr. Peirce and Mr. Neal.]

“To conclude, I wish, that if by Petition to the
 “King’s Majesty, there cannot be obtain’d a quite
 “Remove of the Premises, [*which seem too grievous*
 “*to divers*, MSS. B. Peirce,] nor yet a Toleration
 “for them that are of more staid and temperate
 “Carriage, yet at least that there might be a miti-
 “gation of the Penalty.” [*if they cannot be drawn by our Reasons to Conformity with us.* MSS. B. Peirce.]
 Such large Omissions, when an Historian pretends to give us his Authorities with Exactness, shews Inaccuracy, to say no worse of it.

Neal, p. 49. Dr. Bancroft Bishop of London being translated to the See of Canterbury, (December 1604,) was succeeded by Vaughan Bishop of Chester, a corpulent Man, and of little Activity.

Dr. Fuller’s Character of him is this, [B. x. p. 49.]
 “Bishop Vaughan was a corpulent Man, but spiri-
 “tually minded; such his Integrity, not to be bow’d
 “(though

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‘ (though force was not wanting) to any base Con-
‘ nivance, to wrong the Church he was placed in.
‘ His many Vertues made his Loss to be be-
‘ moan’d.’

Neal, *Ibid.* Upon his Advancement, the Dutch and French Ministers within his Diocese, presented him with an Address for his Protection, wherein they set forth; That their Churches were granted them by Charter from Pious King Edward VI. in the Year 1550, and tho’ they were again dispersed by the Marian Persecution, they were restored to their Churches and Privileges by Queen Elizabeth, in the Year 1558; from which time they had been in the uninterrupted Possession of them. It appears from our Records, say they, how kind and friendly the Pious Grindal was to us, and what pains the prudent Bishop Sandys took in composing our Differences. We promise the like Favour from your Lordship, &c. [*Strype’s Ann.* vol. ult. p. 390.]

He had acted more like an Impartial Historian, if instead of his, &c. he had given us their Encomium upon Bishop Vaughan. *Idem* a Rev. tuâ dignitate certo nobis pollicemur; multis, pietate, eruditione, rerum experientiâ & humanitate singulari excellentior. Celebris est tua eruditio, pietas, & eloquentia in Aulâ, in Academiâ, in hac Civitate, totoque Regno. An Omission too favourable to the Bishop to be inserted in his History.

Neal, *Ibid.* Monsieur de la Fontain delivered the Address with a short Latin Speech, to whom the Bishop replied, “ I thank you, most dear Brethren, for your
“ kind Address; I am sensible of the Merits of John
“ Alasco, Utenhovius and Edmund Grindal Bishop
“ of London, Superintendents of your Churches, &c.”
No mention of either Utenbovius or Edmund Grindal in the Bishop’s Answer, [see *Strype*, vol. ult. p. 395.] tho’ both are mentioned in Monsieur de la Fontain’s Speech, which two Speeches this Gentleman has confounded. Fontain’s Words, *Designatus*

est inspector Johannes Alasco, &c. The Conclusion of the Bishop's Answer, "*Ego, si qua in re vobis usui esse potero, non deero; sed quemadmodum antecessores mei fecerunt, vos defendam. Hæc dixi subito; & dicendi desuetudine, forsan non ita latine.*"

De la Fontain's Answer to the Bishop's Speech, which follows in the same Page, Mr. Neal should have favour'd us with; tho' it seems to reflect upon those that dissented from the Church Establish'd. "*Quod ad dissidium attinet, quod jam Ecclesias Anglicanas turbat, fieri non potest ut id ignoremus, & ut animos nostros non pungeret ingenti dolore; sed memores sumus nos esse peregrinos, qui rebus alienis nequaquam nos immiscere debeamus. Si tamen nostris consiliis aut operâ, Ecclesiæ pacem promovere possumus, & ignem hunc restringere, non modo omni studio id libenter faceremus, sed etiam vitam nostram, ad pacem hanc redimendam profunderemus.*"

Neal, p. 41. His Grace revived the Persecution of the Puritans, by enforcing the observance of all the Festivals of the Church, by reviving the use of Copes, Surplices, Caps, Hoods, &c. according to the first Service-Book of King Edward, by obliging the Clergy to subscribe the three Articles of Whitgift, which by the late Canon [36,] they were obliged to declare, they did willingly and from the Heart. By these Methods of Severity, [Altare Damasc.] about three Hundred Puritan Ministers were silenced, or deprived, &c.

* "The Altar of Damascus tells us, if we may believe him, that no fewer than three Hundred preaching Ministers were either silenced or deprived on that account; but the Author or Authors of that Book, whoever they are, can make a Mountain of a Mole-Hill, if it stands in their way: for it appears by the Rolls brought in by Bishop Bancroft before his Death, that there

* Heylin's Aer. Rediviv. p. 372. Collier's Eccles. History, p. 68.

had

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‘ had been but forty five deprived upon all Occasions, which in a Realm, containing nine thousand Parishes, could be no great Matter. But it was, that by the Punishment of some of the Principals, he struck such a general Terroure into all the rest, that Inconformity grew out of fashion in less time than could be easily imagined.’

Neal, p. 47. *The greatest Number of those that left their Native Country for Religion were Brownists, or rigid Separatists, of whom Mr. John Ainsworth and Robinson were the Leaders. Mr. Johnson erected a Church at Amsterdam after the Model of the Brownists, having the Learned Mr. Ainsworth for Doctor or Teacher. These two published to the World a Confession of Faith of the People called Brownists, in the Year 1602; not much different in Doctrine from the Harmony of Confessions.*

A Tract was published, with this Title*; *An Apology of such true Christians as are commonly but unjustly called Brownists, against such Imputations as are laid upon them by the University of Oxford. Address'd to King James, by the Overseers, Deacons, and Brethren of the English Church at Amsterdam, in the Low Countries, exiled for the Truth of Christ.* Printed 1604.

The following Articles shew the Spirit of these People, and how worthy they were of Favour from the Establishment.

Art. 29. ‘ The present *Hierarchy* retain'd, and used in *England*, of Archbishops, Primates, Lord Bishops, Metropolitans, Suffragans, Deans, Prebendaries, Canons, Petti-Canons, Archdeacons, Chancellors, Commissaries, Priests, Deacons or Half-Priests, Parsons, Vicars, Curates, Hireling Roving Preachers, Church-Wardens, Parish-Clerks; also their Doctors and other Officers of

* Publick Library, Cambridge, Class xix. 6. 35.

‘ these Spiritual Courts, (as they call them) together with the whole Rabble of the Prelates, and their Servitours, from and under them set over these Cathedral and Parishional Assemblies in this Confusion, are strange and Antichristian Ministry and Offices, and are not that Ministry above-named, instituted in Christ’s Testaments, or placed in his Church. p. 23.”

Art. 32. ‘ Therefore all that will be saved, are bound up by God’s Commandment with speed to come forth of this *Antichristian* Estate, leaving the Suppression of it to the Magistrate unto whom it belongeth. And all such as have receiv’d or exercised any of these false Offices, or any pretended Functions or Ministry in, or to this false and *Antichristian* Constitution, are willingly in God’s Fear to give over, and leave those unlawful Offices, and no longer to minister in this manner, to these Assemblies, to this Estate. Neither may any, of what Sort or Condition soever, give any part of their Goods, Lands, Money, or Money-worth to the Maintenance of this false Ministry, and Worship, upon any Commandment or Colour whatsoever.’

Neal, p. 48. *Being Men of warm Spirits, they fell to pieces about some Points of Discipline; Johnson excommunicated his own Father and Brother for trifling Matters, after having rejected the Mediation of the Presbytery of Amsterdam. This divided the Congregation, insomuch that Mr. Ainsworth and half the Congregation excommunicated Johnson, who after some time return’d the same Compliment to Ainsworth: at length the Controversy grew so hot, that Amsterdam could not hold them, &c.*

Dr. Heylin’s Account of these Separatists, is very remarkable*; ‘ That having broken asunder the

* Hist. Presbyter. p. 374, 375.

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Bond of Peace, they found no possibility of preserving the *Spirit of Unity*; one Separation growing continually on the neck of another, till they were crumbled into nothing. The Brethren of the first Separation had found fault with the Church of *England* for reading Prayers and Homilies as they lay in the Book, and not admitting the Presbytery to take place amongst them. But the Brethren of the second Separation take as much Distaste against retaining all Set-Forms of Hymns, and Psalms, committing their Conceptions, both in Praying and Prophefying, to the help of Memory, and did as much abominate Presbytery as the others liked it. For first, they presuppose for granted, as they safely might, that there be three kinds of spiritual Worship, Praying, Prophefying, and Singing of Psalms; and then subjoin this Maxim, That there is the same reason of helps in all the Parts of spiritual Worship, as is to be admitted in any one, during the performing of that Worship, upon which ground they charge it home upon their Fellow-Separatists, That as in Prayer, the Book is to be laid aside by the Confession of the ancient Brethren of the Separation, so must it also be in Prophefying, and singing of Psalms; and therefore, whether we pray, or sing, or prophefy, it is not to be from the Book, but out of the Heart. For Prophefying, next they tell us, that the Spirit is quench'd two manner of ways, by Memory, as well as Reading. And to make known how little use there is of Memory in the Act of Prophefying or Preaching; they tell us, that the citing of Chapter or Verse, (as not being used by Christ and his Apostles, in their Sermons or Writings) is a Mark of Antichrist. And as for Psalms, which make the third Part of spiritual Worship; they propose these Queries: *First, Whether in a Psalm, a Man must be tied to Metre, Rythme,*

‘ *Rythme, and Tune? and whether a Voluntary be not as necessary in Tune and Words, as well as Matter? and, Secondly, Whether Metre, Rythme and Tune be not quenching the Spirit?*’

‘ According to which Resolution of the new Separation, every Man, when the Congregation shall be met together, may first conceive his own Matter in the Act of Praising; deliver it in Prose, or Metre, as he lifts himself; and in the same Instant chaunt out in what Tune soever, that which comes first into his own Head: which would be such a horrible Confusion of Tongues and Voices, that hardly any howling or gnashing of Teeth can be like unto it. Finally, as to Forms of Government, they declared thus, (or to this purpose, at the least, if my Memory fail not) That as they which live under the Tyranny of the Pope, and Cardinals, worship the very Beast itself; and they which live under the Government of Archbishops and Bishops, do worship the Image of the Beast; so they which willingly obey the Reformed Presbytery of Pastors, Elders, and Deacons, worship the Shadow of that Image. To such ridiculous Follies are Men commonly brought, when once presuming on some new Light to direct their Actions, they suffer themselves to be misguided by the *Ignis Fatuus* of their own Inventions. And in this Posture stood the *Brethren of the Separation*, Anno 1606, when *Smith* first published his Book of the present Differences between the Churches of the Separation, as he honestly calls them. But afterwards, there grew another great Dispute between *Ainsworth* and *Broughton*, whether the Colour of *Aaron's* Linnen *Ephod* were of *Blue*, or a *Sea-Water Green*: which did not only trouble all the *Dyers* in *Amsterdam*, but drew their several Followers into Sides and Factions, and made good Sport to all the World, but themselves alone.

‘ By

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By reason of which Divisions and Sub-Divisions, they fell at last into so many Fractions, that one of them in the End became a Church of himself, and having none to join in Opinion with him, baptiz'd himself, and thereby got the Name of a *Self-Baptist*, which never any Sectary or Heretick had got before.'

Neal, p. 50. *The difference among the Puritans engag'd them in a warm Controversy among themselves, about the Lawfulness and Necessity of separating from the Church of England: Most of the Puritans were for keeping within the Pale of the Church, apprehending it to be a true Church in it's Doctrines and Sacraments, though defective in Discipline, and corrupt in Ceremonies; but being a true Church, they thought it not lawful to separate, though they could hardly continue in it with a good Conscience.*

Mr. Canne, a Brownist, in his Preface to his Piece, call'd, *A Necessity of Separation from the Church of England, proved from the Nonconformists Principles*, Printed 1634. has the following Words. ' I know what I say, and have good Experience of this thing; for there is not ten of a hundred which separate from the Church of England, but are moved first thereto, (I speak of outward Means) by the Doctrines of the Nonconformists, either in Word, or Writing, taught to the People: And indeed upon their Grounds, how can any one do less than separate, if his Heart be tender against every Sin, seeing that they confidently affirm, that their Ministry, Worship and Discipline is from *Antichrist*, and in their Church are Swarms of *Atheists*, *Papists*, Erroneous and Heretical Sectaries, Witches, Charmers, Murderers, Thieves, Adulterers, Lyars, &c. These are their own Testimonies, and we know they are true; and therefore in obedience to God, and care of our Precious Souls, we have left our un-sanctified

44 *Mr. NEAL's II^d Vol. of the*

‘ sanctified standing in their Assemblies, and
 ‘ through the Lord’s Mercy to us, do walk in the
 ‘ Holy Order of his Gospel, although daily Suffer-
 ‘ ers for it.

‘ The following Principles (touching a true
 ‘ Church-Ministry, Worship and Government, as
 ‘ also how quite contrary hereto, the *English* is)
 ‘ are not taken out of our Writings, but from the
 ‘ *Nonconformists*, yea and even from the chiefest of
 ‘ them, which for Learning, Zeal, Judgment, Ho-
 ‘ linefs of Life, &c. have ever held that Cause.
 ‘ Moreover, they are not barely affirm’d, but suffi-
 ‘ ciently confirm’d; and therefore it standeth every
 ‘ one upon, to take them the more to heart, for
 ‘ else, not one but many of themselves, even Pro-
 ‘ phets of their own, will condemn them.’ *Id. Ib.*

Mr. Neal from hence may learn, what En-
 couragement the *Puritans* gave the *Separatists*, by
 their Writings.

Neal, p. 55. *The Lincolnshire Ministers drew up an Apology for those Ministers who are troubled for refusing of Subscription and Conformity, and presented it to the King, December 1st, 1604. The Abridgment of which is now before me, and begins with a Declaration of their Readiness to subscribe the first of the three Articles, required by the 36th Canon, concerning the King’s Supremacy; but to the other two we cannot subscribe, because we are persuaded that both the Book of Common-Prayer, and the other Books to be subscribed by the Canon, (of which yet in some Respects we reverently esteem) contain in them sundry Things which are not agreeable, but contrary to the Word of God.*

The *Apology* and *Abridgment* were one and the same Book; take Dr. Heylin’s Account of it *. ‘ But
 ‘ the gaining of this Man [Dr. John Burges] did
 ‘ not still the rest: For presently on the Neck of

* History of Presbyter. p. 373.

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• this, comes out a factious Pamphlet, publish'd
• by the *Lincolnshire* Ministers, which they call the
• *Abridgment*, containing the Sum and Substance of
• all those Objections, which either then were, or
• formerly had been made against the Church, in
• reference to Doctrine, Government, or Forms of
• Worship. Concerning which, it is observ'd by
• the said Dr. *Burgefs*, that he found the State of
• the Question to be very much alter'd in the same;
• that *Cartwright* and the rest, in the times forego-
• ing, though they had sharpen'd both their Wits
• and Pens against the Ceremonies, oppos'd them
• as inconvenient only, but not unlawful: that there-
• fore they endeavour'd to persuade the Ministers
• rather to conform themselves, than leave their
• Flocks; the People rather to receive the Com-
• munion kneeling, than not to receive the same at
• all; but that the Authors of that Book, and
• some other Pamphlets, pronounced them to be
• simply unlawful, neither to be imposed nor used;
• some of them thinking it a great part of Godli-
• ness to cast off the Surplice, and commanded their
• Children so to do: This made the Bishops far
• more earnest to reduce them to a present Confor-
• mity, than otherwise they might have been,
• though by so doing they encreased the Discon-
• tents, the Seeds whereof were sown at the end of
• the Conference.

Neal, p. 62. *The Abridgment* was answered by
Bishop Morton, and Dr. *Burgefs*, who after he had
suffer'd himself to be deprived for Non-Conformity,
June 19. 1604, was persuaded by King James to
conform, and write in Defence of his Conduct, against
his former Arguments.

Dr. *Burgefs* in the Preface, to his Answer rejoin'd,
to that much applauded Pamphlet of a nameless Au-
thor, &c. p. 11. returns an Answer to this. 'For
this Cause myself, tho' the weakest of many, be-
ing

' ing called on, have yielded to cast myself into the
 ' very gulph of this Contention; not much regard-
 ' ing what becomes of my Repute with Men, so as
 ' I may discharge myself faithfully, and with a
 ' good Conscience towards God's Truth, and the
 ' Churches Peace, and hold unfeign'd Love in
 ' my Heart, even to those whom I oppose; to
 ' whom I shall never be an Enemy, unless it be
 ' in speaking for the Truth against those who be-
 ' lieve an Error in them.

' Some (says he, p. 20.) have objected that I
 ' was of their Mind, as touching these Ceremonies;
 ' till a good Benefice brought me about: but the
 ' Untruth is famously known, for I had subscribed
 ' and obtained the Liberty of my Ministry again,
 ' (for which I thank God and all that help me) and
 ' been Preacher at *Bishopsgate* in *London*, above six
 ' Months, before I heard any word of the Benefice
 ' I have: Nor knew I my worthy Patron, Master
 ' *Robert Shilton*, nor he me, nor had we ever seen
 ' one another, when first he pleased to bring the
 ' offer thereof unto me at *Isleworth*, after that Dr.
 ' *Cbetwind*, now Dean of *Bristol*, first refus'd it.
 ' And they who know how gainful the Practice of
 ' Physick was then to me, (which I affirm upon my
 ' Conscience, to have been every Year as profitable,
 ' as my Benefice is in three Years at the least) will
 ' never believe that it was matter of Profit which
 ' took me off from Physick, and brought me to
 ' Conformity. I may boldly say this, that I have
 ' parted with more Profit by taking up Conformity,
 ' than any Man in *England* has done by his Incon-
 ' formity; therefore it was not a Benefice that drew
 ' me on.'

Neal, p. 64. *Mr. Bradshaw publish'd a small*
Treatise, entitled, English Puritanism, containing
the main Opinions of the rigideſt ſort of thoſe, that
went by that Name in the Realm of England; the
Reader

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Reader will learn from the following Abstract of it, the true State of their Case, as well as the near Affinity between the Principles of the ancient and modern Nonconformists.

The Book contains 35 Pages in 12°, and Mr. Neal in his Abstract has omitted several things very remarkable. In the second Chapter, the ninth Article is wholly omitted, and is as follows: 'Altho' they hold, that Congregations of which Kings and Nobles make themselves Members, ought to have the same Ecclesiastical Officers, Ministry, Worship, Sacraments, Ceremonies, and Form of Divine Worship, that the basest Congregation in the Country hath, and no other; yet they hold also, that as their Persons in Civil Respect excel; so in the Exercises of Religion in Civil Matters, they may excel other Assemblies. Their Chappels and Seats may be gorgeously set forth, with rich Arras, and Tapestry, their Fonts may be of Silver; their Communion-Tables of Ivory, and if they will, covered with Gold: the Cup out of which they drink the sacramental Blood of Christ may be of beaten Gold, set about with Diamonds, their Ministers may be clothed in Silk and Velvet, so themselves will maintain them in that manner; otherwise they think it absurd, and against common Reason, that other base and inferior Congregations must by Ecclesiastical Tythes and Oblations, maintain the Silken, and Velvet Suits, and lordly Retinue of the Ministers and Ecclesiastical Officers of Princes and Nobles. See Art. 9. p. 9, 10.'

Chap. 3. Art. 6. [It should be 11th,] Neal, p. 67. *That the Church has no power to impose upon her Pastors or Officers any other Ceremonies or Injunctions than what Christ has appointed.*

Art. 11. 'They hold that the Church hath no Authority to impose upon her Pastors, or any other

‘ other of her Officers, any other Ministerial Duties, Offices, Functions, Actions or Ceremonies, either in Divine Worship or out of the same, than what Christ himself in the Scriptures hath impos’d upon them, or what they might lawfully impose upon Christ himself, if he were in Person upon Earth, and did exercise a Ministerial Office in some Church. *Ib.* p. 20.’

12th Article omitted. ‘ They hold it as great an Injury to force a Congregation or Church, to maintain as their Pastor with Tythes, and such like Donations, that Person, that either is not able to instruct them, or that refuseth in his own Person ordinarily to do it; as to force a Man to maintain one for his Wife, that either is not a Woman, or that refuseth in her own Person to do the Duties of a Wife to him. *Ib.* p. 20.’

Chap. 5. Art. 1. *Neal*, p. 67. *They hold that the Spiritual Keys of the Church are committed to the aforesaid Spiritual Officers and Governours, and none others. What follows, omitted by Mr. Neal.*

‘ Which Keys they hold, that they are not to be put to this Use; to lock up the Crowns, Swords, and Scepters of Princes and Civil States, or the Civil Rights, Prerogatives and Immunities of civil Subjects, in the Things of this Life; or to use them as Picklocks to open withal Mens Treasuries, and Coffers, or as Keys of Prisons to shut up the Bodies of Men; for they think that such a Power and Authority Ecclesiastical, is only fit for the *Antichrist* of Rome. *Ib.* p. 24.’

Chap. 6. Art. 1. *Neal*, p. 69. *They hold that the Civil Magistrate ought to have Supreme [Civil added by Mr. Neal] Power over all the Churches within his Dominions [in all Causes whatsoever, omitted by Mr. Neal] but that, as he is a Christian, he ought to be a Member of some one of them. What follows omitted by Mr. Neal: ‘ And*

‘ ought

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‘ought to be as subject to the spiritual Regiment thereof, prescribed by Christ in his Word, as the meanest Subject in his Kingdom; and they hold that this Subjection is no more derogatory to his Supremacy, than the Subjection of his Body in Sickness to Physicians, can be said to be derogatory thereunto.’

Neal, p. 74. *The Isles of Guernsey and Jersey having enjoy'd the Discipline of the French Churches, without Disturbance, all the Reign of Queen Elizabeth; upon the Accession of the present King, address'd his Majesty for a Confirmation of it; which he was pleased to grant by a Letter under the Privy-Seal, &c.*

* Collier says, ‘At King James’s Accession to the Throne, the Puritanical Party address him with a false Suggestion, that the Discipline had been allow’d by Queen Elizabeth. Upon this Misrepresentation, they procured a Letter from his Majesty, under the Privy-Seal, in confirmation of the pretended Permission in the late Reign.’

Neal, p. 75. *Sir John Peyton, a zealous Churchman, was appointed Governor, with secret Instructions to root out the Geneva Discipline, and settle the English Liturgy and Ceremonies. This Gentleman taking advantage of the Synod’s appointing a Minister to a vacant Living according to Custom, protested against it, as injurious to the King’s Prerogative, &c.*

† Collier’s Words; ‘The Governor, the King’s Attorney, and the other Officers of the Crown protested publickly against these Proceedings, alledging the Prerogative was injured, and the Royal Revenues lessen’d by this pretended Privilege.’

Neal, p. 76. *The Jersey Ministers alledged in their Defence, that the Presentation to Livings was a Branch of their Discipline; that the Payment of First-Fruits and Tenths was never demanded since they were dis-*

* Eccles. Hist. p. 795.

† Id. Ib.

charged by the Council of Constance, they pleaded his Majesty's Royal Confirmation of their Discipline, which was read publickly in the Synod of both Islands, in the Year 1605. But this pious King had little Regard to Promises, Oaths, and Charters, when they stood in the way of his arbitrary Designs.

This is boldly affirmed, tho' but slenderly proved, and the Reflection in my Opinion would much better have become a profest Republican, than the peaceable Dissenter, and Impartial Historian.

Neal, p. 77. Mr. Robert Parker, a Puritan Minister, published this Year (1607,) a very learned Treatise of the Cross in Baptism.

Mr. Peirce likewise calls it a very learned Treatise, but then he adds*, 'It must be own'd his Fancy was somewhat odd, as to his manner of handling his Argument: But all must allow, the Book had a good deal of Learning in it.' † The Title of Mr. Parker's Book: *A Scholastical Discourse against Symbolizing with Antichrist, in Ceremonies, especially in the Sign of the Cross.* Printed 1607, without a Printer's Name, consisting of near 400 Pages closely printed in Folio. A very scarce Book, and if these Historians mean no more, by a very Learned one, than its being stuff'd with Authorities not at all to his purpose, I will own it to be a very learned Treatise. But even allowing it to be so in another Sense, it must certainly contain something very scandalous and offensive ‡, for Mr. Peirce informs us, that the Author was forced to fly his Country for writing and publishing that very learned Treatise.

Mr. Neal, p. 77. gives a Character of the famous Dr. John Reynolds, which he concludes in the following Words, p. 78. *In short, says the Oxford Historian, nothing can be spoken against him, but that he*

* Peirce's Vindication of the Dissenters, p. 170.

† Penes Me.

‡ Vindication of the Dissenters, p. 170.

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was the Pillar of Puritanism, and the grand Favourer of Nonconformity: an unpardonable Crime, in his Opinion.

This short Account may be added out of *Fuller**; 'That his Disaffection to the Discipline established in *England*, was not so great, as some Bishops did suspect, or as more *Nonconformists* did believe. No doubt, he desired the abolishing of some Ceremonies for the Ease of the Conscience of others, to which, in his own Practice he did willingly submit, constantly wearing Hood and Surplice, and kneeling at the Sacrament. On his Death-Bed he earnestly desired Absolution, according to the Form of the Church of *England*, and receiv'd it from *Dr. Holland*, whose Hand he affectionately kissed, in Expression of the Joy he received thereby.' So that either *Mr. Wood* mistook his Character, or *Dr. Fuller* was misinformed in his Account of him.

Neal, p. 78. *Soon after died the famous Mr. Thomas Brightman, Author of the Commentary upon the Song of Solomon, and the Revelations. His Life, says Mr. Fuller, was Angelical, his Learning uncommon, [No mention of his uncommon Learning in the Place referred to in Fuller.] His daily Discourse was against Episcopal Government, which he prophesied would shortly be thrown down, and the Government of the foreign Protestant Churches erected in its place.*

Fuller says nothing of his Prophecying, that foreign Protestant Churches would be erected in its place, and has the following Words in abatement of his Character†; 'The Title thereof conceiv'd too Insolent for any Creature to affix: *A Revelation of the Revelation*; except immediate Inspiration, which made the Lock, had given the Key unto it.'

* *Fuller's Church-History*, Book x. p. 48. *Crackanthorp's Defence, &c. against Spalato.*

† *Fuller's Church-History*, Book x. p. 49, 50.

And Mr. Collier adds*, 'That in his Performance, (upon the *Revelations*) he seems to be tinctured with the Spirit of *Enthusiasm*. For upon Chap. xiv. ver. 18. he makes Archbishop *Cranmer* the Angel to have power over the Fire; and Chap. xvi. ver. 5. he makes the Lord Treasurer *Cecil* the Angel of the Waters, justifying the pouring forth of the third Vial.'

Neal, Ibid. *The King having given the Reins of the Church into the hands of the Prelates, and their Dependants; these in return preach'd and printed for the Prerogative.*

And happy had it been if the Reins had always been in the hands of the Prelates, then the Prerogative had been safe, which, he knows, was far otherwise, when the Reins were put in the hands of his darling *Presbyterians*.

Neal, Ibid. *Two Books were published, that maintain'd the most extravagant Maxims, of arbitrary Power. One was writ by Cowel, Doctor of the Civil Law, and Vicar-General to the Archbishop, wherein he affirms, 1. That the King is not bound by the Laws, or his Coronation-Oath. 2. That he is not obliged to call Parliaments to make Laws, but may do it without them. 3. That it is great Favour to admit the Consent of the Subject in giving Subsidies.*

King James's dislike of these Positions in Cowel, appears, I think, from his Speech to the two Houses at *White-Hall*, 21 March, 1709†. 'The other Branch (says he) is anent the Common Law, which some had a conceit I disliked, and (in respect I was born where another Form of Law was established) that I would have wished the Civil Law to have been put in place of the Common Law, for the Government of this People. And the

* Collier's Supplement to his Historical Dictionary, sub Voc. *Brightman*.

† King James's Works, p. 528.

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Complaint made amongst you of a Book written by Dr. *Cowel* was part of the Occasion of this Incident. But as touching my Censure of that Book, I made it already to be delivered unto you by the Treasurer here sitting, which he did out of my own Directions and Notes; and what he said in my Name, that he had directly from me: but what he spake of himself therein, without my Direction, I shall always make good: for you may be sure, I will be loth to make so honest a Man a Liar, or deceive your Expectations; within very few Days my Edict shall come forth, anent that Matter, which shall fully discover my meaning. There was never any Reason to move Men to think, that I could like of such Grounds: for there are two Qualities principally, or rather Privations, that make Kings subject to Flattery, Credulity and Ignorance, yet I hope none of them can be objected to me.

Dr. *Cowel* indeed, in his *Interpreter*, carries the Prerogative of Kings very high, for which he produces his Authorities. But after all the Search I have been able to make, I cannot find these Positions, *That the King is not obliged to call Parliaments, to make Laws, but may do it without them; or, That 'tis a great Favour to admit the Consent of the Subject to give Subsidies.* His Book gave great Offence, but it was chiefly to the common Lawyers, who were jealous of a Civilian, and apprehensive of the Civil Law's prevailing, and gaining too much ground from Scotland, as the King in his Speech observed.

Neal, Ibid. The other was compiled by Dr. *Blackwood* a Clergyman, who maintain'd the English were Slaves since the Norman Conquest.

* This Book of *Blackwood's*, which (I suppose he

* *Adversus Georgii Buchanani Dialogum, De Jure Regni apud Scotos, pro Regibus Apologia, per Adamum Blacvodeum Senatorem apud Pictavos. Pictavis apud Franciscum Pagæum Typographum Regium, cum privilegio Regis ad decennium, 1588. penes me.*

refers to, was first printed 1588. from whence, and the Title of his Works * published afterwards, it is plain, he was no Clergyman †, nor can I learn, that he ever was in *England* in King James's Reign, but once, and that immediately after the King's Accession to the Throne. His Writing against *Buchanan*, and in Defence of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, might probably give Offence to some that were tinctured with *Republican* Principles ‡; he was the Person who compiled the Epitaph upon *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, hung up at *Peterborough*, upon her Shrine ||, and he died in the Year 1613.

Neal, Ibid. *The Parliament would have brought the Authors to Justice, but the King protected them, by proroguing the Houses in Displeasure.*

** *Rapin* observes, 'That the Parliament would
' have severely punished the Authors of these Books,
' but the King interposed, and frustrated the Parlia-
' ment's Design, by issuing out a Proclamation, for-
' bidding the reading of these Books, and ordering
' such as had any of them in their hands to deliver
' them to the Magistrates. But such Proclamations
' are usually disobey'd, especially when it was not the
' King's Interest to see them strictly executed.'

Neal, p. 82. *The King summoned both Houses to Whitehall, and told them that he did not intend to govern by the absolute Power of a King, tho' he knew the Power of Kings was like the Divine Power; for (says his Majesty) as God can create and destroy, make*

* The other Works printed afterwards with this, at *Paris* 1644, are as follow; *De vinculo Religionis, & Imperii, Libri Tres. In Psalmum Davidis Quinquagesimum, Meditatio. Sanctorum precationum proemia. Varii generis Poemata. Martyre de Marie Stuart Roine DESCOSSE, & DOUAIRIERE de FRANCE.* Publick Library, Cambridge, F. 70. 22.

† *Elogium Blacodei, Autore Gabriele Naudæo.* Vid. Op. Paris 1644.

‡ Vid. Op. p. 468.

|| Vid. Elog.

** *Rapin*, p. 316.

and

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and unmake at his pleasure; so Kings can give Life and Death, judge all, and be judged of none.

And was not this very gracious, to promise them to forego a Power, which he thought belong'd to him? But to shew how little Inclination he had to be Arbitrary, in the very same Speech, 21 March 1609, he has the following Words: * ' Every just King in a settled Kingdom, is bound to observe that Paction [speaking of the Coronation-Oath] made to his People by his Laws, in framing his Government agreeable thereunto. And therefore a King governing in a settled Kingdom, leaves to be a King, and degenerates into a Tyrant, as soon as he leaves off to rule according to his Laws. In which Case the King's Conscience may speak unto him, as the poor Woman said to Philip of Macedon, either govern according to your Law, *aut ne Rex sis*; and tho' no Christian Man, ought to allow any Rebellion of People against their Prince, yet doth God never leave Kings unpunished, when they transgress these Limits, &c. Therefore all Kings that are not Tyrants, or perjured, will be glad to bound themselves within the Limits of their Laws; and they that persuade them to the contrary, are Vipers and Pests, both against them and the Commonwealth. For it is a great difference between a King's Government in a settled State; and what Kings in their original Power might do in *Individuo Vago*. As for my part, I thank God I have ever given good proof, that I never had Intention to the contrary: And I am sure to go to the Grave with that Reputation and Comfort, that never King was in all his time more careful to have his Laws duly observed, and himself to govern thereafter than I.'

* King James's Works, p. 531.

Neal, Ibid. But the Parliament, not terrified with this high Language, went on steadily in asserting their Rights; and May 24. Twenty of the Lower-House presented a Remonstrance, &c.

* *Rapin's Words: 'The Commons evidently perceiving what the King had in his Thoughts, resolv'd strenuously to oppose his Designs, but however it was no proper Season now to begin; such great Bodies require some time to form and execute their Projects. They made therefore, as if they took no Notice of these Maxims the King would have establish'd, and granted a Subsidy, tho' much smaller than he expected; this done, the Parliament having sat till the Month of July, was prorogued to the 16th of October.'*

Neal, p. 90. To obtain a Spiritual Character, superior to the Order of Presbyters, it was necessary that the Bishops elect should be consecrated by some of the same Order: For this purpose, the King sent for three of them into England, (viz. Mr. Spotswood, Archbishop of Glasgow; Mr. Lamb, Bishop of Brechen; and Mr. Hamilton, Bishop of Galloway;) and issued a Commission under the Great Seal, to the Bishops of London, Ely, Bath and Wells, and Rochester, requiring them to proceed to the Consecration of the above-mention'd Bishops, according to the English Ordinal.

'They were consecrated (says Collier, p. 702, from Archbishop Abbot's Register, p. 414.) by George Bishop of London, Lancelot Bishop of Ely, Richard Bishop of Rochester, and Henry Bishop of Worcester.'

Neal, Ibid. [from Collier, p. 702.] Andrews Bishop of Ely was of opinion, that before their Consecration, they ought to be made Priests, because they had not been ordain'd by a Bishop. This the Scots Divines

* *Rapin, p. 323.*

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were unwilling to admit, for fear of the Consequences among their own Countrymen, &c. Bancroft therefore yielded, That where Bishops could not be had, Ordination by Presbyters must be valid; otherwise the Character of most of the Reformed Churches might be question'd. Abbot Bishop of London and others were of Opinion, That there was no necessity of passing through the Inferiour Orders of Deacon and Priest; but that the Episcopal Character might be convey'd at once, as appears from the Example of Saint Ambrose, Nectarius, Eucherius, and others, who from mere Laymen were advanc'd at once into the Episcopal Chair.

* Collier in the very place referr'd to by Mr. Neal, contradicts him. 'But after all, as the learned Heylin (p. 382.) represents the Matter; Bancroft went upon a much more defensible Principle: he argued, there was no necessity the Scotch Bishops should pass through the intermediate Orders of Deacon and Priest, for that the Episcopal Character might be fully convey'd at a single Consecration: and for this he cited some considerable Precedents in the ancient Church.' So that it appears, that what Mr. Neal mentions as Bishop Abbot's Opinion, from Collier, was not Abbot's, [but Bancroft's Opinion. A small Inaccuracy in History, scarce worth Notice.

Neal, p. 92. Lord Clarendon says, That he [Bancroft] understood the Church excellently well; that he had almost rescued it out of the hands of the Calvinian Party, and very much subdued the unruly Spirits of the Nonconformists, and that he countenanced Men of Learning.

† Lord Clarendon adds, 'That he disposed the Clergy to a more solid Course of Study, than they had been accus'tomed to.'

* Collier's Hist. p. 702.

† History of the Rebellion, Vol. I. Fol. p. 68.

Neal, *Ibid.* His Lordship might have added, *That he was Covetous, Passionate, Ill-natur'd, and a cruel Persecutor of good Men.*

Dr. Fuller, a moderate Man, in his Church-History, gives a different Character of him. * ‘ I find
 ‘ two Faults (says he) charg’d on his Memory,
 ‘ Cruelty and Covetousness, Unepiscopal Qualities;
 ‘ seeing a Bishop ought to be Godly and Hospitable;
 ‘ to the first, he confesses he was most stiff
 ‘ and stern to press Conformity: And what more
 ‘ usual, than for Offenders to *nick-name* necessary
 ‘ Severity to be Cruelty? Now though he was a most
 ‘ stout Champion to assert Church-Discipline; let
 ‘ me pass this Story to Posterity, from the Mouth
 ‘ of a Person therein concern’d. An honest and
 ‘ able Minister privately protested unto him, that
 ‘ it went against his Conscience to conform, being
 ‘ then ready to be deprived: *Which way, saith the*
 ‘ *Archbishop, will you live, if put out of your Benefice?*
 ‘ The other answer’d, *He had no way but to*
 ‘ *go a begging, and put himself on Divine Providence.*
 ‘ *Not that (saith the Archbishop) you shall not need*
 ‘ *to do, but come to me, and I will take Order for*
 ‘ *your Maintenance.* What Impression this made
 ‘ upon the Minister’s Judgment, I am not able to
 ‘ determine.

‘ As for his Covetousness, true it is, he maintain’d
 ‘ not the State of Officers, like his Predecessor, or
 ‘ Successor in Housekeeping; yet he was never ob-
 ‘ serv’d in his own Person to aim at the enriching
 ‘ his Kindred, but had Intentions to make Pious
 ‘ Uses his Publick Heir; bequeathing his Library,
 ‘ the Confluence of his own Collections, with his
 ‘ Predecessors *Whitgift’s, Grindal’s, Parker’s,* to
 ‘ *Chelsea College.* And if that took no effect, to the
 ‘ Publick Library in *Cambridge,* where they at

* Hist. Book x. p. 57.

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‘ this time remain. His clear Estate at his Death
‘ exceeded not fix Thousand Pounds, no Sum to
‘ speak a single Man covetous, who had sat fix
‘ Years in the See of Canterbury, and somewhat
‘ longer in London.’

Neal, *Ibid.* Some have represented him as inclined
to Popery, because he maintain’d several Secular
Priests in his House; but this was done (say his Ad-
vocates) to keep up the Controversy between them and
the Jesuits.

* *Arthur Wilson*, no Advocate for Episcopacy,
confirms this, (with whom agrees *Fuller*.) ‘ About
‘ this time *Richard Bancroft*, Archbishop of Can-
‘ terbury died; a Person severe enough, whose
‘ Roughness gain’d little upon those that deserted
‘ the Ceremonies. One Work of his shew’d his Spi-
‘ rit, better than the ruggedest Pen can depaint it.
‘ For it was he that first brought the King to begin
‘ a New College by *Chelsea*; wherein the choicest
‘ and ablest Scholars in the Kingdom, and the most
‘ pregnant Wits in points of Controversies, were
‘ to be associated under a *Provost*, with a fair and
‘ ample Allowance, not exceeding Three Thou-
‘ sand Pounds a-year; whose Design was to an-
‘ swer all *Popish Books*, or others, that vented their
‘ malignant Spirits against the *Protestant Religion*;
‘ either the Heresies of the *Papists*, or the Errors
‘ of those that strook at the *Hierarchy*: so they
‘ should be two-edged Fellows, that would make
‘ old cutting and flashing. And this he forward-
‘ ed with all Industry during his time, and there
‘ is a formal Act of Parliament (7 *Regis*) in being,
‘ for the Establishment of it.’

Mr. Neal, in his Account of the Editions of the
Geneva Bible, has made one Mistake; in which,
as he seems to reflect upon Queen *Elizabeth*, and

* Life of King *James*, p. 53. See *Fuller’s Church-History*,
Book x. p. 50, 51, 57.

Archbishop Parker, he will not take it amiss, if I correct it from an unexceptionable Authority. He informs us,

Neal, p. 96. The whole Bible was publish'd with Marginal Notes 1559, Dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, &c. But the Marginal Notes giving Offence, it was not suffer'd to be publish'd in England, till the Death of Archbishop Parker, when it was printed 1576, by Christopher Barker in 4to, 8to.

* ' To give (says Mr. Lewis) an Account of the
' most remarkable Editions of the Bible, &c.
' which I before said was translated and printed
' by some *English* Refugees at *Geneva*, in the Years
' 1557 and 1560, in 12mo. and 4to. Eight Years
' after, it was again printed in Two Volumes in
' Folio; and again at *Geneva* 1570, and again at
' *London* in Folio and Quarto 1572, and in Quar-
' to 1575, 1576.'

*Neal, p. 97. At the request of the Puritans in the Hampton-Court Conference, King James appointed a new Translation to be undertaken by the most learned Men of both Universities; under the following Regulations. 4. That when a Word has diverse Significations, that be kept, which has been most commonly used by the Fathers. The Words; † ' Used by the
' most eminent Fathers, being agreeable to the
' Propriety of the Place, and the Analogy of
' Faith.'*

Neal, Ibid. 5. That the Division of Chapters be not altered.

|| ' The Division of the Chapters to be alter'd
' either not at all, or as little as may be, if Neces-
' sity so require.'

* Mr. Lewis's History of *English* Translations, &c. In his Preface to *Wickliff's New Testament*, p. 66. See likewise, p. 58.

† *Lewis, p. 81. Fuller, Book x. p. 146.*

|| *Lewis, p. 81. Fuller, p. 146.*

Neal,

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Neal, *Ibid.* They were to consult the modern Translations of the French, Dutch, German, &c. but to vary as little as possible from the Bishop's Bible.

** ' These Translations to be used, when they agree better with the Text, than the Bishop's Bible, viz. Tyndal's, Matthew's, Coverdale's, 'Whitchurch, Geneva.' Such small Inaccuracys as these should be avoided by every Historian, who pretends to Exactness.

Neal, p. 101. The Solemnity of these Nuptials, (viz. of Elizabeth the King's Daughter, and Frederick V. Elector Palatine) was retarded some Months, by the untimely Death of Henry Prince of Wales, who died November 6. 1612. and was buried the 7th of December following.

* He died November 6. and the Marriage February 14th, following.

Neal, *Ibid.* Some have suspected the King his Father caus'd him to be poisoned, though there is no certain Proof of it.

Mr. Echard rightly observes, + ' That the World is always ready to attribute the Deaths of beloved Princes to unfair Practices; and it became the great Rumour of the Time, that the Prince was poisoned. We dare not (says he) determine that nice Matter, yet the Presumptions are too strong to be buried in silence; especially if we consider the violent Contests between him and Rochester, and the wicked Practices of that implacable Man. For the Prince was an open-hearted Man, and resenting every Injury done to his Nation, had once declar'd, that if ever he was King, he would not leave one of that Family unpunish'd: and therefore he and the Howards

** Lewis, p. 82. Fuller, p. 47.

* Echard, Vol. I. p. 933.

+ Echard's Hist. Vol. I. p. 933. See Burnet's History of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 11.

' could

‘ could not think themselves secure, till he had paid that Debt to Nature; and so the Manner of his Death was pass’d over by a Certificate from some Court-Physicians, that his Liver was paler than ordinary, his Gall without Choler in it, his Spleen, Midriff, and Lungs were very black, and his Stomach in no part offended, as if no Poisons could produce such Effects.’ There are variety of other Authorities for the disproof of Mr. Neal’s unfair Insinuations, for which I refer the Reader to the * Margin.

Neal, *Ibid.* ‘Tis certain the King was jealous of his Son’s Popularity, and ask’d one day if he would bury him alive; and upon his Death commanded that no Person should appear at Court in Mourning for him. Rapin, 339, 340.

Rapin in the Place referr’d to, tho’ no great Friend to the Royal House of Stuart, seems to me to have been less prejudic’d in this Particular than Mr. Neal. He tells us, † ‘ That he does not find in the Historians, who were the most bitter Enemies of King James, any thing but bare Suspensions and naked Conjectures, which in all appearance were only Fruits of the blackest Malice.’

And in the Account referr’d to before in Mr. Peck, ’tis said, || ‘ That his Majesty, whose

* A full Account of the Manner of his Sickness and Death MSS. *Jo. Episc. Eliens.* MSS. Reverendi *Tho. Baker*, S. T. B. Vol. XXXII. p. 129, &c. Printed by Mr. Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, Lib. vi. p. 1, 2, 3. Sir Charles Cornwallis, his Treasurer’s printed Account. Bishop Goodman’s *Aulicus Coquinaria*; in Answer to Sir Anthony Weldon’s *Court and Character of King James*, p. 144, to 159, *exclus.* For these Authorities, and many more, I am indebted to my most worthy Friend Mr. *Tho. Baker*, S. T. B. of St. John’s College, Cambridge; a Person universally esteem’d, for his great Knowledge in almost all the Branches of Literature; and who, as he is the most knowing in our English History, and Antiquities; so is he the most communicative Man living.

† Rapin, p. 339.

|| Peck’s *Desiderata Curiosa*, Lib. vi. p. 3.

‘ Sorrow

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‘ Sorrow no Tongue can exprefs, not willing, nor
‘ being able to ftay fo near the Gates of fo extreme
‘ a Sorrow, more like a dead than a living Man,
‘ full of moft wonderful Heavinefs removed to
‘ Theobalds.’

Neal, p. 102. *To furnifh the Exchequer with Money, feveral new Projects were fet on foot. His Majesty created a new Order of Knights Barons; the Number not to exceed 200, and the Expence of the Patent One Thoufand Ninety-Five Pounds.*

† Rapin obferves, ‘ That the King made but
‘ 100 at the firft Promotion: And || Sandford and
‘ * Afhmole, fix the Creation of Barons not in
‘ 1613, as Mr. Neal does, but in the 9th of King
‘ James’s Reign, 1611. For which they were
‘ to give 1000*l.* in Money, fays Sandford, towards
‘ the Plantation of the Province of Ulfter, in Ire-
‘ land. Mr. Sandford was Lancafter Herald, and
‘ Mr. Afhmole Windfor Herald, and both of un-
‘ queftioned Authority.’

Neal, p. 108. *The King was fo full of his Prero-
gative, that he apprehended he could convince his Sub-
jects of its abfolute Extent; for this Reason he turn’d
Preacher in the Star-Chamber, and took his Text,
Pfalms lxxii. 1. Give the King thy Judgments, O
God, and thy Righteoufnefs to the King’s Son.
After dividing and fub-dividing, &c. he applied it to
the Judges and Courts of Judicature, telling them,
“ †† That the King fitting in the Throne of God,
“ all Judgments center in him, and therefore for
“ inferiour Courts to determine difficult Queftions
“ without confulting him, was to incroach upon
“ his Prerogative and to limit his Power, which*

† Rapin, p. 356.

|| Sandford’s History of the Kings of England, p. 52.

* Afhmole’s History of the Garter, p. 16.

†† Rapin, p. 393.

“ it was not lawful for the Tongue of a Lawyer, nor
 “ any Subject to dispute.”

Rapin's Words (which Mr. Neal has very much
 alter'd) are these ; ‘ Incroach not upon the Prero-
 ‘ gative, deal not in difficult Questions before you
 ‘ consult the King and Council, for fear of wound-
 ‘ ing the King through the sides of a private Per-
 ‘ son. That that which concerns the Myſtery of the
 ‘ King's Power, is not lawful to be diſputed ; for
 ‘ that is to wade into the Weakneſs of Princes, and
 ‘ to take away the myſtical Reverence that belongs
 ‘ to thoſe who ſit in the Throne of God.

* ‘ Keep you therefore all in your own Bounds,
 ‘ and for my part, I deſire you to give me no
 ‘ more Right in my private Prerogative, than you
 ‘ give to any Subject ; and therein I will be acquie-
 ‘ ſcent : As for the abſolute Prerogative of the
 ‘ Crown, that is no Subject for the Tongue of a
 ‘ Lawyer, nor is it lawful to be diſputed.’

His Directions to the Judges begin thus. (p.555.)
 ‘ Now, my Lords the Judges, for your Parts ;
 ‘ the Charge I have to give to you, conſiſts of three
 ‘ Parts.

‘ *First in general,* That you do Juſtice uprightly,
 ‘ as you ſhall answer to God and me : For I have
 ‘ only God to answer to, and expect Punishment
 ‘ at his hands if I offend ; ſo you are to answer
 ‘ both to God and to me ; and expect Punish-
 ‘ ment at God's hand and mine, if you be found
 ‘ in fault.

‘ *Secondly,* To do Juſtice indifferently between
 ‘ Subject and Subject, between King and Subject ;
 ‘ without Delay, Partiality, Fear or Bribery,
 ‘ with ſtout and upright Hearts, with clean and
 ‘ uncorrupt Hands.

* King James's Works, p. 557.

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‘ When I bid you do Justice boldly, yet I
‘ bid you do it fearfully in this, to utter your own
‘ Conceits, and not the true Meaning of the Law;
‘ And remember you are no Makers of Law, but
‘ Interpreters of Law, according to the true Sense
‘ thereof; that you are so far from making Law,
‘ that even in the higher House of Parliament, you
‘ have no Voice in making of a Law, but only to
‘ give your Advice when you are so required.

‘ And though the Law be in many places ob-
‘ scure, and not so well known to the Multitude as
‘ to you, and that there are many Parts which come
‘ not into ordinary Practice, which are known to
‘ you; because you can find out the Reason there-
‘ of by Books and Precedents: yet know this, that
‘ your Interpretations must be always subject to
‘ Common Sense and Reason.

‘ For I will never trust any Interpretation, that
‘ agreeth not with my Common Sense and Rea-
‘ son, and true Logick: For *Ratio est anima Legis*
‘ in all Human Laws, without exception: it must
‘ not be Sophistry or Strains of Wit, that must in-
‘ terpret, but either clear Law or solid Reasons.’

Neal, p. 114. *The Synod [of Dord] continued to
the 29th of May; in which time there were One
Hundred and Eighty Sessions.*

* Fuller says, ‘ On the 29th of April, the Sy-
‘ nod ended.’

Neal, Ibid. *In the Hundred and Forty-fifth Session,
and 30th of April, the Belgick Confession of Faith
was debated, and put to the Question; which the Eng-
lish Divines agreed to, except the Articles relating to
the Parity of Ministers and Ecclesiastical Discipline.*

† Fuller tells us, ‘ That before the end of the Hun-
‘ dred and Forty-fifth Session, April 20th, the Bel-

* Church-Hist. Book x. p. 82.

† Fuller, p. 81.

' gick Confession was brought into the Synod, con-
 ' taining Matter of Doctrine and Discipline, and
 ' the Publick Consent hereunto was required. Here
 ' the Bishop of *Landaff*, in the name of all the
 ' rest, approved all the Points of Doctrine. But as
 ' for Matter of Discipline, that his Mother-Church,
 ' and his own Order might not suffer therein,
 ' and he seem by Silence to betray the Cause there-
 ' of; a *Protest* was enter'd by him as Mouth of the
 ' rest, to preserve the same.' The *Protest* follows
 in the next Page.

*Neal, p. 118. In the Summer of the Year 1617,
 King James made a Progress into Scotland, to advance
 the Episcopal Cause in that Country; the Chappel of
 Edinburgh was adorn'd after the manner of White-
 hall; Pictures being carried from hence, with the Sta-
 tues of the Twelve Apostles, which were set up in the
 Church.*

* *Rapin* tells us, ' That as soon as they began
 ' to adorn the Chappel, the People of *Edinburgh*
 ' exclaim'd at the Sight, saying, *Images were be-
 ' gun to be introduced, and the Mass would quickly
 ' follow.*'

And *Spotswood* † adds, ' That the King in his
 ' Answer to the *Scotch* Bishops, who intreated that
 ' these Images might not be put up for fear of Of-
 ' fence; answered, That some of the *Scots* could
 ' not distinguish betwixt Pictures intended for Or-
 ' nament and Decoration, and Images erected for
 ' Worship and Adoration; you can endure Lyons,
 ' Dragons and Devils to be figur'd in your Churches,
 ' but will not allow the like place to Patriarchs and
 ' Apostles. However, his Majesty upon this Let-
 ' ter from the Bishops, gave order for staying the
 ' erecting of these Portraits.'

* Vol. IX. p. 399.

† History, p. 530.

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Neal, p. 120. *This Year the learned Mr. Selden was summoned before the High-Commission, for publishing his History of Tythes, in which he proves them not to be of Divine, but Human Appointment; and after many Threatnings, was oblig'd to sign the following Recantation.*

* Heylin says, ' That he was so gall'd by Tillesley, so gagg'd by Mountague, and stung by Nettles, (three Answerers,) That he never came off in any of his Undertakings with more loss of Credit. By which he found that some of the lazy Clergy, (as he called them) were of as retir'd Studies as himself, and could not only match, but over-match him too in his own Philology.' But notwithstanding what Heylin here says, I am of † Dr. Langbain's Opinion, who being consulted what might be said for the Civil Right of Tythes? answered, by sending them to this History. And truly his Resolution was not amiss, for (if I mistake not) Mr. Selden has said more for the Civil Right, than all the Answers that were made to him.

Neal, p. 134. *In answer to this Letter, [the King's to the Speaker] the Commons drew up a Petition to present with their Remonstrance, in which they insist upon the Laws of their Country, and Freedom of Debates in Parliament. The King writ them a long Answer, which concludes with denying them what they call their antient and undoubted Right and Inheritance.*

The King's Words, [Rapin, p. 488. Wilson, p. 183.] ' And although we cannot allow of the Style, calling it *your ancient and undoubted Right and Inheritance*; but could rather wished that ye had said, that your Privilege were deriv'd from the Grace and Permission of our Ancestors and

* Hist. of the Presbyterians, p. 391.

† Langbain's Epist. Leland's Collectan. Vol. V. p. 291.

‘ Us, (for most of them grew from Precedents
 ‘ which shew rather a Toleration, than Inheritance)
 ‘ yet we are pleas’d to give you our Royal Assu-
 ‘ rance, That as long as you contain yourselves
 ‘ within the limits of your Duty, we will be as
 ‘ careful to maintain your lawful Liberties and
 ‘ Privileges, as ever any of our Predecessors were,
 ‘ nay as to preserve our Royal Prerogative; so as
 ‘ your House shall only have need to beware to
 ‘ trench upon the Prerogative of the Crown, which
 ‘ would enforce us, or any just King, to retrench
 ‘ their Privileges, that would pare his Prerogative,
 ‘ and Flowers of the Crown: But of this we hope
 ‘ there shall never be Cause given.’

*Neal, p. 134. A few days after, he dissolved the
 Parliament, and issu’d out a Proclamation, forbidding
 his Subjects to talk of State-Affairs.*

‘ The Strength of a Proclamation put out, to
 ‘ forbid talking of State-Affairs, (says *Wilson*, p.
 ‘ 190.) could not restrain them from mouthing
 ‘ out, That *Great-Britain* was become less than
 ‘ *Little England*; that they had lost Strength by
 ‘ changing Sexes, and that he was no King, but a
 ‘ Fidler’s Son; otherwise he would not suffer such
 ‘ Disorders at home, and so much Dishonour a-
 ‘ broad: so dangerous is it for Princes by a fleg-
 ‘ matick Remissness, to slacken the Ligaments of
 ‘ the People’s Tongues; for such an Overflux of
 ‘ bad Humours may bring their Obedience to a
 ‘ Paralytick.’

*Neal, p. 135. He committed the leading Members
 to Prison, as Sir Edward Cook, &c. Others were
 sent into Ireland, and the Earls of Oxford, and
 Southampton, were sent to the Tower.*

Wilson, [p. 191.] and *Tyndal*, [in his Note
 upon *Rapin*, p. 493.] say, ‘ The Earl of Oxford
 ‘ was betray’d and accus’d by one *White* a *Papist*,
 ‘ to have spoken some Words to the Dishonour of
 ‘ the

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the King, and Disparagement of his Government,
and was committed to the *Tower*; the Earl of
Southampton was also committed to the *Dean* of
Westminster.*

Neal, *Ibid.* The King having parted with his Parliament, was at liberty to gratify the Spaniard, by indulging the Papists; for this purpose the Lord-Keeper Williams, by his Majesty's Command, writ to all the Judges, that in their several Circuits, they discharge all Prisoners for Church-Recusancy, &c. Accordingly all the Jesuits, and Popish Recusants of all sorts were enlarged, to the Number (says Mr. Prynne) of four Thousand.

Mr. Prynne's Account is contradicted by Fuller*; Jo. Gee (says he) who undertakes to give us a perfect List of all the Jesuits in England, cannot mount their Number higher than 225. To which, if such whom he detects for Popish Physicians, with all those whom he accuses for Popish Books, be cast in, they will not make up the Tythe of 4000.†

Neal, p. 136. But to distress the Puritans more effectually, the King sent the following Directions to the Archbishop, to be communicated to all the Clergy of his Province, dated at Windsor, August 10. 1622.

“ 1. That no Preacher under a Bishop or a Dean, shall make a set Discourse, or fall into any Common-Place of Divinity, in his Sermons, not comprehend in the Thirty-Nine Articles.”

† Or some of the Homilies of the Church of England. Omitted by Neal.

Neal, *Ibid.* 2. “ That no Parson, Vicar, Curate or Lecturer, shall preach any Sermon hereafter, on Sundays and Holidays in the Afternoon, but expound the Catechism, Creed and Ten Commandments.”

* Church-History, Book x. p. 101.

† Wilson, p. 199. Fuller, Book x. p. 109.

* The Words as follow; ‘ That no Person, &c. shall preach any Sermon or Collation hereafter upon *Sundays* and *Holidays* in the Afternoon, but upon some part of the Catechism, or some Text taken out of the Creed, Ten Commandments, or the *Lord's-Prayer*, (Funeral-Sermons only excepted.)’

Neal, p. 141. King James swore to the Observation of these Articles [of the intended Spanish Match] in the Presence of the two Spanish Ambassadors, and Twenty-four Privy-Counsellors, who set their Hands to the Treaty.

† ‘ In allowing these Articles (says Rushworth) the King thus express'd himself; “ Seeing this Marriage is to be with a Lady of a different Religion from us; it becometh us to be tender, as on the one part to give them all Satisfaction convenient; so on the other, to admit nothing that may blemish our Conscience, or detract from the Religion here establish'd.”

Neal, p. 143. He [the Prince] was strongly solicited to change his Religion by some of the first Quality, and by the most learned Priests and Jesuits, who caress'd his Highness with Speeches, dedicated Books to him, invited him to their Processions, &c. By which Artifices though he was not converted, he was confirm'd in his Resolution of attempting a Coalition of the two Churches, for the accomplishing of which he lost both his Life and Crown.

I can't but think that Rushworth is a fairer Adversary to King Charles than our learned Historian, ‡ who tells us, ‘ That the Prince remain'd steadfast in his Religion, neither did he express any shew of Change.’ And Frankland adds, || ‘ That

* Wilson, Ibid. Fuller, Ibid. Frankland's Annals, p. 70.

† Rushworth, Vol. I. p. 4. 2d Edit.

‡ Rushworth, Vol. I. p. 83.

|| Frankland's Annal, p. 78.

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these Solicitations were all in vain, for the Prince was too well fettled in his Religion, to be gain'd upon by these Letters, (*viz.* of the Pope) or the *Spanish* Complements.'

And what Authority Mr. Neal has for this intended Coalition of the two Churches, I am at a loss to guess: * ' The Prince in a Letter to *Olivarez* tells him, That they should never find him a *Shechem*, to pass over to a new Religion for a Wife.' † Nay, Bishop *Hacket* observes farther, ' That the *Condè* had oblig'd his Honour to his Highness, when he came first to the Court of *Spain*, never to meddle with him about his Religion. He kept not his Promise, but solicited his Highness, that as he lov'd his Soul, he would return to *England* a *Catholick* in his Sense. Well, my Lord, says the Prince, you have broken your Word with me, but I will not break my Faith with God. At another time he besought his Highness to afford his Company at a solemn Mass. No Sir, says the Prince, I will do no Ill, nor the Suspicion of it. Once more he told his Highness, that he would accomplish all that he could desire of the Crown of *Spain*, if he would profess himself a Son of the *Romish* Church. He should not only carry home the bravest Lady for Beauty, Birth and Virtue, that was, but be made as great a King in Riches and Power as was in *Europe*, &c. The King was heated with the Proffer, and gave this Provocation to him that had provok'd him, That it was such another *Rhodomontade*, as the Devil made to Christ; *All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me.*' [*Hacket*, *Ibid.*] Bishop *Burnet*, in his History of his own Times, says [p. 47.] that he had a firm Averfion to Popery,

* Dr. *Hacket's* Life of Bishop *Williams*, p. 146.

† *Ibid*, p. 147.

Neal, p. 144. *It was happy after all, that the Prince got safe out of the Spanish Territories; which, as Spanheim observes, [Rapin, p. 558, vide Note.] that Politick Court would not have permitted, had they not considered, that the Queen of Bohemia, next Heir to the Crown, was a greater Enemy to Popery than her Brother.*

Tyndal's Note upon Rapin, [p. 558.] as follows; and how fairly he has cited it, must be left to the Reader to judge: 'But this Point is clear'd by the Remark with which Spanheim sums up what relates to the Spanish Affair: "*That never Prince was more obliged to a Sister, than King Charles I. was to the Queen of Bohemia; since it was the Consideration of her and her Children, who were next Heirs after him to the Crown of England, that prevail'd with the Court of Spain to permit him to return into England again.*"

Not one Word of her being a greater Enemy to Popery than her Brother, as Mr. Neal (not over-fairly) suggests.

Neal, p. 146. speaking of the King's Answer to the Commons Petition to break off the Spanish Match, &c. says, *What solemn Appeals to Heaven are these against the clearest and strongest Facts! It requires a good Degree of Charity to believe this Prince had either Religion or Honesty.*

It requires a good Degree of Charity, not to believe Mr. Neal a downright Republican; after meeting with so many bitter Reflections upon King James the First's Character.

Neal, p. 147. *The Treaty of Marriage [with Henrietta-Maria, the King of France's Sister] went forwards, and was at last signed Nov. 10. in Thirty-three Articles, and Three secret ones.*

* Rapin mentions but Thirty Articles, and Three secret ones.

* Rapin, p. 601:

Neal,

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Neal, Ibid. *Wherein the very same or greater Advantages were stipulated for the Catholicks, than those of Madrid.*

* *Rushworth* speaks more favourably, and observes, That the Articles of Religion were not much short of those for the *Spanish Match.*

Neal, Ibid. *But before the Dispensation from the Pope could be procur'd, his Majesty fell sick at Theobalds of a Tertian Ague, which put an end to his Life, not without Suspicion of Poison; March 27. 1625. in the 59th Year of his Age.*

Archbishop Laud in his Diary [p. 15.] tells us, 'The King fell sick March 4. the Disease appear'd to be a Tertian Ague, but I fear (says he) 'twas the Gout, which by the wrong Application of Medicines, was driven from his Feet to his Inward Vital Parts.' And *Arthur Wilson*, [p. 285.] 'Whether our King's Care for his Grand-Children, or the hazard and danger of his own Person at home, or whether his full Feeding, and continual Use of sweet Wines, set the gross Humours a-work, or what other Accident caus'd his Distemper is uncertain; but he fell sick of a Tertian Ague, which is not dangerous in the Spring, (if we believe the Proverb) and had some few Fits of it, after which he fell into a Fever, which was too violent for him.' (No mention of his being poison'd.)

† Lord *Clarendon's* Reflection as follows; 'After whose Death, many scandalous and libellous Discourses were rais'd, without the least Colour or Ground; as appear'd upon the strictest and most malicious Examination that could be made long after, in a time of licence, when no body was afraid of offending Majesty, and when pro-

* *Rushworth*, Vol. I. p. 152. 2d Edit,

† Hist. Vol. I. p. 10.

‘secuting the highest Reproaches and Contumelies
‘against the Royal Family was very meritorious.’

Neal, p. 148. *Things were come to such a pass,*
that Gondomar the Spanish Ambassador writ to Spain,
that there was never more hopes of England. “For
“there are more Prayers (says he) offer’d to the Mo-
“ther, than to the Son of God.”

* Take *Echard's* Words in Answer; ‘The Mar-
‘quis of *Buckingham* in appearance made all these
‘Removes and Advancements, but in reality most of
‘the Affairs in Church and State, were privately
‘transacted by his *Mother*; for most Addresses
‘were first made to her, and so convey’d to be
‘finish’d by her Son, who generally regarded his
‘Pleasure, more than his Profit. Which caus’d
‘*Gondomar* among his other pleasant Stories, to
‘write into *Spain*, *That there was never more hopes*
‘*of England's returning to Popery than now, for*
‘*there were more Prayers and Offerings made to the*
‘*Mother, than to the Son.*’ I wonder our Great Hi-
storian should be guilty of such an Inaccuracy,
I am unwilling to call it a Blunder.

Neal, p. 150. *If we consider him as a King, [King*
James] he never did a great or generous Action,
through the Course of his Reign.

Mr. *Neal* is too much prejudiced, to be admitted
as a competent Witness in this Case, without much
better Vouchers than he has hitherto favour’d
us with. Variety of Instances might be produced
in disproof of his Assertion; but at present one shall
suffice, which he probably may not think a great
or generous Action, because ’twas done in favour of
the Church of *England*. † ‘In the Summer 1604,
‘the Corporation of *Rippon* in *Yorkshire* petition-
‘ed *Queen Anne*, for a better Maintenance for the
‘Incumbent of that Parish. There had formerly

* Vol. I. p. 593. *Wilson*, p. 149. *Rapin*, p. 437.

† *Collier*, p. 687.

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‘ been founded a fair Collegiate Church ; but at the
‘ Dissolution of the Abbeyes, the Lands were seized
‘ by the Crown, and no tolerable Remainder left
‘ for the Parish-Priest. There was little need of
‘ the Queen’s Interest in soliciting on the Petitioners
‘ Behalf ; for the King was always disposed for the
‘ Benefit of Learning and Religion. In short, his
‘ Bounty was considerably large on this Occasion ;
‘ for he founded a Dean and Chapter of seven Pre-
‘ bendaries: and settled two hundred and forty-seven
‘ Pounds *per Ann.* of Crown-Lands for their Mainte-
‘ nance.’

Had this King been a Favourite of our Historian’s ;
had he, instead of this Benefaction to the Church of
Rippon, bestowed the like Sum upon the Dissenters,
to uphold their Separation ; I leave it to the World
to judge, how high the Encomium, how large the
Panegyric would have been upon such an Occasion ;
and whether Mr. *Neal* would have charged him
with the want of *Greatness* of *Temper*, and *Genero-*
sity.

To which we may add Dr. *Fuller*’s Character of
him * ; ‘ That he was most Bountiful to all, espe-
‘ cially to Scholars, no King of *England* ever doing
‘ more to preserve the Revenues of the *English* Hier-
‘ archy: In a word, that he left his own Coffers
‘ empty, but his Subjects Chests full ; the Land
‘ being never more wealthy, it being then more
‘ easy to get, than since to save an Estate. And
Arthur Wilson’s †, who tells us, ‘ That the King
‘ was a good Master, and did by his Bounty indear
‘ his Servants to him, and seldom denied any Man
‘ a reasonable Suit.’ And Archbishop *Laud* adds ‡,
‘ That he was Bountiful to the highest pitch of a
‘ King.’

* *Fuller*’s Church-History, p. 114.

† *Wilson*’s History, p. 279.

‡ *Rushworth*, Vol. I. p. 156.

Neal, Ibid. He surrendered up the cautionary Towns to the Dutch, for less than the fourth Part of the Value.

****** He deliver'd them up for the Money, lent upon them by Queen Elizabeth.

Neal, Ibid. He broke thro' all the Laws of the Land, and was as absolute a Tyrant as his want of Courage would admit.

This is answer'd by Dr. Fuller, who says ††, 'That he was most Merciful to Offenders, no one Person of Honour, without parallel since the Conquest, being put to death in his Reign.'

Neal, Ibid. He was flatter'd by hungry Courtiers, as the Solomon and the Phoenix of the Age; he was, in the Opinion of Bishop Burnet, a Pedant, without true Judgment, Courage, or Steadiness, his Reign being a continued Course of mean Practices.

Bishop Hall, whom our Historian (p. 402.) calls the good Bishop, says *, 'That he was the learnedest King that ever sat upon the Throne, or, as he verily thinks, since Solomon's Time, of any other.'

And Frankland calls him †, 'A learned, just, and wise Prince.'

Neal, Ibid. 'Tis hard to make any Judgment of his Religion, for one while he was a Puritan, and then a zealous Churchman, and at last a half, if not a doctrinal Papist.

As to his being once a Puritan, I think I have already fully disproved Mr. Neal's Assertion, from the King's own Works; to which I may add the Authority of Mr. Robert Johnston ||, a Scotch Histo-

****** Bishop Burnet's History of his Own Time, Vol. I. p. 15.

†† Church-History, Book x. p. 114. Archbishop Laud says of him, (*Rushworth*, Vol. I. p. 156.) 'That in all the time of his Reign in England, he took away the Life of no one Nobleman, but restored many.'

* Bishop Hall's Humble Remonstrance, p. 14.

† Annals, p. 107.

|| *Johnstoni Rer. Britannicar. Histor.* p. 88. 95. 180. 216. 218. 229. 230. 282.

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rian, who in various places of his History has proved him, even whilst in *Scotland*, and almost from his Infancy, to have been a Favourer of Episcopacy : And how far he was a *Papist*, let Mr. *Rushworth* (no great Friend to him) witness *. ‘ He advised (says he) ‘ his Son to love his Wife, but not her Religion ; and adds, [in another place, from Bishop *Williams’s* Funeral Sermon for King *James*] † ‘ How power- ‘ fully did he charge the Prince with the Care of ‘ Religion and Justice, the two Pillars, as he term- ‘ ed them, of his future Throne? &c. and con- ‘ cluded with that heavenly Advice to his Son, con- ‘ cerning that great future Act of his Marriage, to ‘ marry like himself, and to marry where he would ; ‘ but if he did marry the Daughter of that King, ‘ [viz. of *France*] he should marry her Person, but ‘ he should not marry her Religion.’

Neal, p. 151. *He certainly was the meanest Prince that ever sat upon the British Throne.*

Bishop *Spotswood*, who lived in his Time, was preferred by him to the Archbishoprick of *St. Andrews*, and certainly knew his Character much better than either Mr. *Neal* or any of the Authors he quotes to disparage him ; speaks of him in the following manner || : ‘ He was the *Solomon* of this Age, admired ‘ for his wise Government, and for his Knowledge ‘ of all manner of Learning, for his Wisdom, Mo- ‘ deration, Love of Justice, for his Patience and ‘ Piety, (which shined above all his other Virtues, ‘ as is witnessed in the learned Works he has left to ‘ Posterity :) his Name shall never be forgotten, but ‘ remain in Honour, so long as the World endureth. ‘ We who had the Honour and Happiness many ‘ times to hear him discourse of the most mighty Mat- ‘ ters, as well of Policy, as Divinity ; now that he is

* *Rushworth*, Vol. I. p. 155.

† *Ib.* p. 161.

|| Bishop *Spotswood’s* Church-History, p. 546.

‘ gone,

‘ gone, must comfort ourselves with the Remembrance of those Excellencies, and reckon it not the least part of our Happiness to have lived in his days. Many doleful Epitaphs in all Languages were composed to express the Sorrow conceived by his Death.’ To which we might add an infinite number of Authorities in disproof of Mr. *Neal's* Character of King *James* the First, in every Instance. But these I think (with the Additional ones referr’d to in the * Margin) are sufficient to shew, that Mr. *Neal* has hitherto given but slender Proofs (if any) of his being a fair, candid, and impartial Historian.

C H A P. II.

FROM the Conclusion of King *James's* Character, (which I cannot but think, he has very much misrepresented) Mr. *Neal* proceeds to the Reign of King *Charles* the First; and the Reader I fear will be very much balked, if he expects more Candour and Impartiality during this Period, than in the former.

The Bias seems to me to run so strong in favour of the Enemies to the *then* Constitution, both in Church and State, that a Man must be endued with a more than ordinary Degree of Charity, if he looks only for common Justice, to the Memory of the Royal Martyr, and those who favour’d and adhered to his Cause; and used their best endeavours towards the Support of *Monarchy* and *Episcopacy*.

* *Rushworth*, Vol. I. p. 155, to 161, inclusive. Bp. *Hacker's* Life of Archbishop *Williams*, p. 224. *Johnston's* Histor. Rec. Britannicar. Lib. xx. p. 659, 660.

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In the Act of Parliament for the Attainder of the Regicides, Anno 12°. *Caroli Secundi Regis*, cap. 30. (which stigmatizes that horrid Tragedy, acted by a parcel of *Miscreants*, as an impious Fact, an execrable Murther, and most unparallel'd Treason committed upon the sacred Person of the King) it is declared, 'That by the undoubted and fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, neither the Peers of this Realm, nor the Commons, nor both together in Parliament, or out of Parliament, nor the People collectively or representatively, nor any other Person whatsoever, ever had, have, hath, or ought to have any coerceive Power over the Persons of the Kings of this Realm.' And yet notwithstanding this, Mr. *Neal* has taken upon him to justify almost every Action of the Rebels within his Period, as agreeable to the fundamental Laws of the Land; and has misrepresented almost every Fact in the History of those Times, which tends to the Justification of the Royal Martyr, and his Cause. And I beg of him seriously to consider, how far his last Book may have contributed towards the raising of that wicked *Republican* Spirit, which lately discovered itself, in the most scandalous, and unparallel'd Abuse of that Day, which was appointed by Act of Parliament, to be set apart; 'To implore the Mercy of God, that neither the Guilt of that sacred and innocent Blood, nor those other Sins, by which God was provoked to deliver up both us and our King into the hands of cruel and unreasonable Men, may at any time hereafter, be visited upon us, and our Posterity.'

But to digress no farther; our Historian attacks King *Charles* the First, as a Favourer of *Popery*, and arbitrary Principles; but with what little Reason, I hope to convince the Reader from good Authorities, before I have finished this Examination.

His

His Words;

Neal, p. 153. *As the Court of King James lean'd to Popery and Arbitrary Power, so did the Prince.*

Notwithstanding, I have already sufficiently disproved this groundless Assertion of *Mr. Neal's*, I shall take the liberty of adding two or three good Authorities in Confirmation of what has been already offered.

In the Treaty of Marriage *sever'd* and *by itself*, in *Rymer*, we are told *, 'That when the King and Prince had met in the *Prado*, and performed their Interview, and mutual Ceremonies; the *Condè* taking the Duke [*viz. Buckingham*] into his Coach, and Master *Porter* for his Interpreter, falling into a Discourse of the *Match*, he said unto the *Duke*, let us dispatch this *Match* out of hand, and strike it up without the Pope.'

'The Duke answered, he liked the Manner very well, but desired to understand the Means.'

'Why, the Means (quoth the *Condè*) is very easy; it is but the Conversion of the *Prince*, which we cannot conceive but his Highness intended upon his Resolution for this Journey.'

'His Grace answered forthwith, That with Freedom they came thither, and with Freedom they would return again; they were no Juglers, neither came they to *Spain* to make new Bargains; the Prince was settled in his Religion; his Conscience was troubled with no Scruples in that kind; if they stroke any more upon that string, they would marr all the Harmony.'

Lord *Clarendon's* Account of his Religion, when King, is as follows †: 'The King was always the most Punctual Observer of Decency in Devotion, and the strictest Promoter of the Ceremonies of the Church, as believing in his Soul, the Church

* *Rymer's Fœdera*, Vol. XVII. p. 560.

† Lord *Clarendon's* History, Vol. I. Folio, p. 63.

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of England to be instituted the nearest the Practice of the Apostles, and the best for the Propagation and the Practice of Religion, of any Church in the World. On the other side, tho' no Man was more averse from the *Romish* Church, than he was, nor better understood the Motives of their Separation from us, and Animosity against us, he had the highest Dislike to that part of his Subjects, who were against the Government of the Church Establish'd, and did always look upon them as a dangerous and seditious People, who under pretence of Conscience, which kept them from submitting to the spiritual Jurisdiction, to take the first Opportunity they could find, or make, to withdraw themselves from their temporal Subjection.'

And Bishop *Fleetwood*, no *Bigot* to Party, gives the following Account of the *Royal Martyr's* Religion*. 'No Prince, I will say, no private Gentleman, did ever understand the Constitution of our Church better, defend it with stronger Arguments, adhere to it with more Judgment, adorn it with better Manners, live up to its good Principles with more Virtue, nor in performance of its Offices, shew more Devout and Exemplary good Behaviour; I will not in these things except the Queen upon the Throne, nor the Blessed Saint in Heaven, her Sister. No Person did ever shew more personal Favour to its Ministers, nor gave more Countenance and Credit to its Discipline and Orders; and must I say, no Prince but he did ever die in its Defence, to justify the high Esteem we have him in.' And this is the Prince (if we'll take Mr. *Neal's* Word for it) who lean'd to Popery. But let us hear what follows, to make good his Assertion.

* *Fleetwood's* Sermon before the Lords, Jan. 30. 1709-10. p. 22. 8vo.

Neal, *Ibid.* Especially after his Journey to Spain; where he imbibed not only the pernicious Maxims of that Court, but their reserved and distant Behaviour.

Excellent Proof indeed! But in order to have made it more clear, he should have shewn what those pernicious Maxims were; and as to his reserved and distant Behaviour, (had it been so) 'twould sooner have proved him a Puritan than a Papist. But in this particular, even his favourite Historian *Rushworth* differs from him; who informs us*, 'That the Prince, for his part, had gain'd an universal Love, and was reported by all to be a truly Noble and Discreet and Well-deserving Prince. His grave Comportment suited with the Way and Genius of that Nation; and he carried it from the first to the last, with the greatest Affability, Gravity, and Constancy, and at his Farewell, with unparallel'd Bounty; and he left behind him Gems of an inestimable Value for the Infanta, and several Grandees.'

Neal, p. 155, 156. Upon the Duke's Death, Dr. William Laud then Bishop of London, became chief Minister, both in Church and State. [156.] By the Interest of Bishop Williams, he was first advanced to a Welsh Bishoprick, and thence by degrees to the highest Preferments in Church and State. As to his Preferments in the State, I should be glad to be informed what they were; and as to his Assertion of Bishop Laud's being advanced by Archbishop Williams, I think it is in some measure confuted by Mr. Wharton†. 'In the Life of Archbishop Williams, wrote by Bishop Hacket, p. 63, 64. Dr. Laud is tax'd of high Ingratitude against Williams, who is there in a long Relation represented as his great Benefactor, and who particularly gain'd of King James the Bishoprick of St. David's for him, by

* *Rushworth*, Vol. I. p. 103.

† Preface to Archbishop Laud's Trial and Troubles, p. 3.

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his great and restless Importunity, when the King had determined not to promote him, as unworthy of his Favours, for reasons there expressed. I question not Bishop *Hacket's* Veracity, or that Archbishop *Williams* did indeed relate it to him. But then *Williams* will be found strongly to have prevaricated, when he pretended, that *Laud* ow'd that Preferment to his Kindness, and thereupon tax'd him of Ingratitude. For from what is related in the following Diary at June 29, 1629. it appears indeed, that *Williams* stickled hard to gain the Bishoprick of *St. David's* for *Laud*, not out of any Kindness to him, but for his own Ends, that so himself might retain the Deanery of *Westminster*, with the Bishoprick of *Lincoln*, (to which he was then nominated;) which had otherwise slip'd from him, the King having design'd to give it to Dr. *Laud*; upon the Avoidance of it by the Promotion of Dr. *Williams* to the See of *Lincoln*. But whatever may in the Matter be alledged against Dr. *Laud*; I am sure no Art or Colour can defend that bitter Revenge of Archbishop *Williams*, related in this History, which prompted him to move earnestly in the House of Lords, that the Jurisdiction of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (then a Prisoner in the Tower) might be sequester'd, and put in the hands of his inferior Officers; which, by this Importunity he obtain'd, to the great prejudice of the Church, and no small infamy of his Life.

And * *Bastwick*, a bitter Enemy to this good Archbishop, says, he was preferred to the Bishoprick of *Landaff*, by the Interest of the Duke of *Buckingham*: mistaking *Landaff* for *St. David's*.

Neal, p. 163. As a judicious Writer [*Rapin*] observes, it seems to have been a Maxim in this, and the

* *Præfat. ad Flagell. Pontificis, &c. Landavensem Pontificatum potentia Buckinghami, suffragio Jacobi assequitur.*

last Reign, That no Faith is to be kept with Parliaments.

However judicious his Writer may be in other respects, this is no Proof of his Judgment, but a plain one of his Disaffection to the Royal House of *Stuart*; which, I take for granted, gives him not the less Favour with *Mr. Neal*. And I beg of him seriously to consider, how far this *pernicious Maxim* is applicable to himself, and whether in one single Instance, throughout his two large Volumes, he has kept Faith with any one Person, who has discovered the least Zeal for the Church Established.

Neal, p. 164. *The titular Bishop of Calcedon, by Letters, dated June 1, 1625. appointed a Popish Vicar-General, and Archdeacons all over England.*

And what does all this prove? Not the King's Connivance or Consent, I hope, as he would have his Readers believe; for the contrary appears, the King having issued a Proclamation for apprehending him, which our candid Historian should have taken notice of, and 'tis as follows*; *A Proclamation for the apprehension of Richard Smith, a Popish Priest, styling and calling himself the Bishop of Calcedon*:

‘ Forasmuch as we certainly understand, that
 ‘ *Richard Smith*, an *Englishman* born, by Profession
 ‘ a *Popish Priest*, now is, or some Years past hath
 ‘ been in this Realm, and here not only perverteth
 ‘ our Subjects in their Religion, but doth also by
 ‘ his Writings in print and otherwise, and by his
 ‘ continual Practice, persuade those our Subjects,
 ‘ to whom he hath access, from their Allegiance to
 ‘ us their Liege Lord, and usurpeth to himself Episcop-
 ‘ opal Jurisdiction from the See of *Rome*, and ex-
 ‘ erciseth the same within this Kingdom, and hold-
 ‘ eth continual Intelligence with our Enemies;

* *Rymer's Fœdera*, continued by *Sanderſon*, Vol. XIX. p. 6.
Fuller's Church-History, Book xi. p. 132, 133.

‘ whereby,

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whereby, according to the just Laws of this Realm,
he hath committed the Offence of High-Treason;
and yet, nevertheless, divers of our Subjects, seduced by him, do receive, harbour, and entertain him contrary to our Laws, and have thereby incurred, and do incur the Penalty of those Laws, which are Capital to the Offenders.

We therefore, being justly provoked by the Boldness of the said *Smith*, do hereby straitly command all our loving Subjects; of whatsoever Condition, Quality, or Denomination, that none of them, directly or indirectly, do permit or suffer him to be concealed or harboured, but that forthwith they arrest and apprehend his Body, and bring him before the next Justice of Peace, to the place where he shall be apprehended; whom we straitly command to commit him to prison without Bail or Mainprize, and presently thereupon inform Us, or our Privy-Council, of his Apprehension.

And we do farther declare hereby, That if any Person shall hereafter, directly or indirectly, harbour or conceal the said *Smith*, or use or connive at any means, whereby the said *Smith* may escape from being apprehended or arrested; that then we shall extend the uttermost Severity of our Laws against every such Offender.

And we further charge and command all and singular our Judges, Justices of Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, Constables, and all other our Officers, Ministers, and loving Subjects, that if they shall find any Person offending herein hereafter, that then they, and every of them, proceed with all Diligence and Roundness, not only against the said *Smith*, but also against all such as shall harbour, conceal, or connive at his Concealment, or shall not use their best endeavours for his Discovery and

‘Apprehension, according to the uttermost Extent
‘of our Laws.’

*Given at our Court at Whitehall, the
Eleventh Day of December, 1628.
Per Ipsum Regem.*

Neal, Ibid. When the next Parliament petitioned for the removal of Papists, from Offices of Trust, it appear'd by a List annexed to their Petition, that there were no less than 59 of the Nobility and Gentry of that Religion, in the Commission. Rushworth, p. 391.

Mr. Neal mistakes *Rushworth*, who, in the place referred to, mentions a great Number of the Nobility and Gentry, whose Wives and Children were of the *Romish* Communion, but were not so themselves: so that he will be difficulted to make out his Number of 59 *Papists*, who were in Commission, from * that place.

Neal, p. 168. The Ceremony of the King's Coronation, which was not till the beginning of February, was another Expence, which his Majesty thought fit to provide for, &c. The Coronation was performed by Archbishop Abbot, assisted by Laud as Dean of Westminster.

† ‘*William Laud* Bishop of *St. David's* supplied the room of Dean of *Westminster*.’

Neal, Ibid. Who [Laud] beside the old Regalia, which were in his Custody, that is, the Crown, the Sceptre, the Spurs, &c. of King Edward the Confessor, brought forth an old Crucifix, and placed it upon the Altar.

This was an Objection made at his Trial, to which he returned the following Answer ||; ‘My Prede-

* *Rushworth, Vol. I. p. 391, &c.*

† Orig. MSS. made use of by Bishop *Laud* at the Coronation, MSS. 120. *St. John's Library, Cambridge, N^o. 12.* See likewise his Diary, p. 28.

|| Trial and Troubles, p. 318.

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‘cessor executed at that time, and I believe would
‘have excepted against the Crucifix, had it stood
‘there; but I remember not any there.’

*Neal, Ibid. As soon as the Archbishop had put the
Crown upon the King's Head, and performed the other
usual Ceremonies, his Majesty being seated on his Throne,
ready to receive the Homage of the Lords, Bishop Laud
came up to him, and used the following extraordinary
Passage, which is not to be found in former Coronations.
Stand, and hold fast, that place, to which
[whereof hitherto, MSS.] you have been Heir to the
Succession of your Forefathers, &c.*

The MSS. Coronation-Book, which the King
held in his hand, and which is still in being, proves,
that the Words were not spoke by *Laud*, but the
Archbishop*. ‘The King is lift up into his Throne
‘by the Archbishops, and Bishops, & aliis Regni
‘Proceribus, and being enthronized therein, the
‘Archbishop saith; stand, and hold fast, that
‘place, whereof hitherto you have been Heir by
‘the Succession of your Forefathers, &c.’

*Neal, p. 169. The Houses met, Feb. 6. and fell
immediately upon Grievances: a Committee for Religion
was appointed, of which Mr. Pym was Chairman,
who examined Mr. Montague's Writings, viz. his
Gag, his Appeal, and his Treatise for the Invocation
of Saints, out of which they collected several Opinions
contrary to the Book of Homilies, and the 39 Articles,
which they reported to the House.*

No doubt but that learned Committee for Religion,
of which Mr. Pym was Chairman, were competent
Judges of Mr. Montague's Books, and in what
particulars they differed from the Homilies,
and the 39 Articles. But if we take *Heylin's* and
Collier's Word for it, some things were censured
in those Books which were not *Papists*†. ‘The

* MSS. Cor. Book, p. 53. St. John's Library, Cambridge.

† *Heylin's* Introd. to *Cyprianus Anglicus*. *Collier's* Vol. II. p. 729.

‘ perpetual Visibility of the Church, the local
 ‘ Descent of Christ into Hell, the Lawfulness of
 ‘ Images, the Signing with the Sign of the Cross,
 ‘ the real Presence, the Reward of good Works, the
 ‘ Terms Sacrifice, Altar, &c.

Neal, p. 170. In what manner the Commons designed to prosecute this Impeachment is uncertain; for Montague was not brought to his Defence, the King having intimated again to the House, that their Proceedings against him, without his leave, was displeasing to him; That as to their holding him to bail, he thought his Servants might have the same Protection as an ordinary Burgefs, and therefore he would take the Cause into his own hands: and soon after he dissolved the Parliament.

* And yet the King thought fit to call his Book in, declaring, ‘ That out of his Care to maintain the
 ‘ Church in the Unity of the true Religion, and the
 ‘ Bond of Peace, to prevent unnecessary Disputes,
 ‘ he had lately caused the Articles of Religion to
 ‘ be reprinted, as a Rule for avoiding Diversities of
 ‘ Opinions; and considering that a Book written
 ‘ by *Richard Montague*, now Bishop of *Chichester*,
 ‘ intitled *Appello Cæsarem*, was the first Cause of
 ‘ those Disputes and Differences, which since have
 ‘ so much troubled the Quiet of the Church, he
 ‘ would take away occasion, by commanding all
 ‘ Persons that had any of those Books in their
 ‘ hands, to deliver them to the Bishop of the
 ‘ Diocese, &c. And if any by preaching, reading
 ‘ or making of Books, *pro and contra*, concerning
 ‘ those unnecessary Questions, shall revive the Difference, he was resolved to take such Order with
 ‘ them, and those Books, as they shall wish they

* *Rushworth*, Vol. I. p. 634. See the Proclamation at large. *Pryn's Canterbury's Doom*, p. 161. *Rymer's Fœdera*, continued by *Sanderfon*, Vol. XIX. p. 26.

‘ had

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‘ had never thought upon those needless Controversies.’

Neal, p. 178. *War being declared, the Queen's Domesticks were sent home, and a Fleet was fitted out, which made a fruitless Descent upon the Isle of Rhee, under the Conduct of the Duke of Buckingham, with the loss of five thousand Men.*

The *Queen's Domesticks* were sent home before War was declared *. ‘ This Year a Misunderstanding between the Courts of *England* and *France* began, upon some Disputes touching the Government of the *Queen's Family*. By the Articles of Marriage, it was agreed, her Majesty should have a certain Number of Priests to officiate in her Chappel, together with a Bishop, who was to be allowed the full Exercise of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction; some of the Ecclesiasticks enjoin'd her Majesty a very odd Penance: 'twas to go to *Tyburn* to perform her Devotions, where some *Roman Catholick* Priests had been lately executed. The King resenting this Discipline, and having been ill used by the *Queen's Family* in other respects, complain'd of their Misbehaviour, to the *French King*; In short, the *French* part of the *Queen's* Servants were paid their Salaries and sent home. And tho' the King ordered his Ambassador, the Lord *Carlton*, to represent this Matter at length for the Satisfaction of his most Christian Majesty, yet the Excuse would by no means pass with the *French*: they remonstrated against this Discharge, as a Breach of the Articles of Marriage, and the two Crowns came to an open Rupture, which was not closed till the latter End of the next Year.’

Neal, p. 178. *His Majesty went on with raising Money by Excise, and instead of softening the Mistakes*

* Collier, p. 742. Rushworth, p. 424. Annals of K. Charles the First, p. 209.

of his Government, put on an Air of high Sovereignty, and told his Parliament, that if they would not provide for the Necessities of the State, he should use other Means, which God had put into his hands, to save that, which the Follies of other Men would hazard. Take not this, says his Majesty [Rushworth, p. 476.] as a Threatning, for I scorn to threaten my Inferiors, [any but my Equals, Rushworth ;] but as an Admonition from him, who by Nature and Duty, has most Care of your Preservation, and Prosperity.

Then follows in Rushworth, (what is omitted by Mr. Neal *,) ' And tho' I thus speak, I hope your ' Demeanours at this time will be such, as shall ' not only make me approve of your former Coun- ' fels, but lay on me such Obligations, as shall tie ' me by way of Thankfulness to meet often with ' you: For be assured, that nothing can be more ' pleasing unto me, than to keep a good Correspon- ' dence with you. You may imagine that I came ' here, with a Doubt of Success of what I desire, ' remembering the Distractions of the last Meeting. ' But I assure you, that I shall very easily and ' gladly forget, and forgive what is past, so that ' you will at this present time leave the former ways ' of Distractions, and follow the Counsel late given ' you, to maintain the Unity of the Spirit, in the ' Bond of Peace.'

Mr. Neal, p. 182. has given us a Letter from a Jesuit in England, to the Rector of the College at Brussels, and makes this Remark upon it, p. 184. *It appears from this Letter, that Puritanism was the only Bulwark of the Constitution, and of the Protestant Religion, against the Inroads of Popery and Arbitrary Power.*

Whence does this appear? Not from those Words in the same Letter, which shew that the

* Rushworth, Vol. I. p. 477.

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Puritans were the *Tools*, which the *Jesuits* designed to make use of, in order to subvert the *Constitution* both in Church and State? 'I cannot choose but laugh (says the *Jesuit*, *Hist. Puritans*, p. 183.) to see, how some of our own Coat have accoutred themselves, and 'tis admirable how in Speech and Gesture they act the *Puritans*. The *Cambridge* Scholars, to their woful Experience shall see, that we can act the *Puritans* a little better than they have done the *Jesuits*.'

Can Mr. *Neal*, after all, be so weak, as to imagine that the *Jesuits* would have put on the *Puritan* Guise, in order to have ruined the *Constitution*, had the *Puritans* been the only *Bulwark of the Constitution*? The *Jesuits* very well knew what they were doing; and that this *Bulwark* would prove no better than the *Staff of a bruised Reed*, upon which, if the *Constitution* had ventured to lean, it would have pierced into its hand; and instead of supporting it, would have undermined, and betray'd it; as in the long run, 'tis apparent, it did.

Hard sure must be the Fate of our *Constitution*, when under a Necessity of relying upon such a *Bulwark* as this, for its Defence. King *Charles* the First, the best of Monarchs, fatally experienced the slender Security of this *Bulwark*, not only from his *English*, *Puritanical* Subjects; one Part of this *Bulwark*; but from the *Scotish* Army, of *Covenanting*, *Puritanical* Saints, the other Part; whose Leaders, notwithstanding their Faith given, for the King's Security in their Army, proved, what a Glorious *Bulwark* they were, in perfidiously betraying him to the *English* Rebels, for the Lucre of two hundred thousand Pounds. The Fact is notorious, and the two Original Acquittances are still in being, signed by *John Drummond*, Deputy-Receiver to Sir *Adam Hepbourn*, Treasurer to the *Scotish* Army. The first, witness'd by the *English* Lords, and other

Com.

Commissioners, to whom the King was delivered up; the second, duly attested: both which will be printed in time.

King *James* the Second likewise experienced how much this *Bulwark of the Constitution* was to be relied on. For, notwithstanding some of their fulsome and flattering Addresses of Thanks (which bordered upon Blasphemy) for that Liberty of Conscience, granted them, by an unwarranted Stretch of Power; in which, 'They wished for Windows in their Breasts, ' that he might see the Sincerity of their Hearts;' yet they were with the *first*, that deserted him. So that from fatal Experience, we may learn, how much this *Bulwark of the Constitution*, upon which the Royal Martyr split, was to be depended upon. And 'tis my hearty and sincere Wish, that our *Constitution* may never stand in need of such a *Bulwark* for its Security and Support.

There are two remarkable Letters extant, one from Sir *William Boswell*, Ambassador at the *Hague*, to Archbishop *Laud*; the other, from Bishop *Bramhall*, Bishop of *Derry*, to Archbishop *Usher*; shewing what hand the *Papists* had in our Troubles, and how notably they acted the *Puritans*.

* The first printed from Sir *Robert Cotton's* Papers, and is as follows:

Most Reverend,

' As I am here employ'd by our Sovereign Lord
' the King, your Grace can testify I have left no
' Stone unturn'd for his Majesty's Advancement,
' neither can I omit, (whenever I meet with Treacheries, or Conspiracies against the Church and
' State of *England*) the sending your Grace an Account in general. I fear matters will not answer
' your Expectations, if your Grace do but seri-

* Printed, 1686. Penes me.

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ously weigh them with Deliberation. For be you assured the *Romish* Clergy have gull'd the misled Party of our *English* Nation, and that under a *Puritanical* Dress; for which the several Fraternities of that Church have lately receiv'd Indulgence from the See of *Rome*, and Council of Cardinals, to educate several of the young Fry of the Church of *Rome*, who be Natives of his Majesty's Realms and Dominions, and instruct them in all manner of Principles and Tenents, contrary to the Episcopacy of the Church of *England*.

' There be in the Town of *Hague*, to my certain Knowledge, two dangerous Impostors, of whom I gave notice to the Prince of *Orange*, who have large Indulgences granted them, and known to be of the Church of *Rome*, altho' they seem *Puritans*, and do converse with several of our *English* Factors.

' The one, *James Murray*, a *Scotchman*; the other, *John Napper*, a *Yorkshire* Blade. The main Drift of these Intentions, is to pull down the *English* Episcopacy, as being the chief Support of the Imperial Crown of our Nation: For which purpose, above sixty *Romish* Clergymen are gone, within these two Years, out of the Monasteries of the *French* King's Dominions, to preach up the *Scotch* Covenant, and Mr. *Knox's* Descriptions and Rules, within that Kirk, and to spread the same about the Northern Coast of *England*. Let therefore his Majesty have an inkling of these Crotchets, that he might be persuaded that whenever matters of the Church come before you, to refer them to your Grace, and the Episcopal Party of the Realm. For there be great Preparations making ready against the Liturgy and the Ceremonies of the Church of *England*: and all evil Contrivances here, and in *France*, and in other Protestant Holdings, to make your Grace and
Episcopacy

' Episcopacy odious to all Reformed Protestants
 ' abroad: it has wrought so much on divers of the
 ' Foreign Ministers of the *Protestants*, that they
 ' esteem our Clergy little better than *Papists*.
 ' The main things that they hit in our teeth are,
 ' our Bishops be called Lords; the Service of the
 ' Church, the Cross in Baptism, Confirmation,
 ' bowing at the Name of *Jesus*, the Communion-
 ' Tables placed Altar-ways; our Manner of Con-
 ' secrations: and several other matters which be of
 ' late buzz'd into the heads of the foreign Clergy,
 ' to make your Grievances the less regarded, in
 ' case of a Change, which is aim'd at, if not speedily
 ' prevented.

' Your Grace's Letter is carefully delivered by
 ' my Gentleman's own hands unto the Prince.

' Thus, craving your Grace's hearty Prayers for
 ' my Undertakings abroad, as also for my safe Ar-
 ' rival, that I may have the Freedom to kiss your
 ' Grace's Hands, and to tell you more at large of
 ' these things; I rest,

Hague,
June 12,
 1640.

Your Grace's Most
Humble Servant,

W. B.

A Letter from the Right Reverend *John Bram-*
ball Bishop of *Derry*, (afterwards Primate of *Ire-*
land) to the most Reverend *James Usher*, Archbi-
 shop of *Armagh*.

* *Most Reverend,*

' I thank God, I do take my Pilgrimage pa-
 ' tiently, yet I cannot but condole the Change of
 ' the Church and State of *England*, and more in my
 ' Pilgrimage than ever, because I dare not witness

* Taken from the Letters published by Dr. *Parr*, and printed
 for *Nath. Ranew*, 1686. Penes me.

' nor

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nor declare to that straying Flock of our Brethren in *England*, who have misled them. But that your Lordship may be more sensible of the Church's Calamities, and of the danger she is in of being ruined, if God be not merciful unto her; I have sent you part of my Discoveries, and it from credible Hands, at this present, having so sure a Messenger, and so fit an Opportunity.

It plainly appears, that in the Year 1646, by Order from *Rome*, above 100 of the *Romish Clergy* were sent into *England*, consisting of *English*, *Scotch* and *Irish*, who had been educated in *France*, *Italy*, *Germany* and *Spain*, part of these within the several Schools there appointed for their Instructions. In each of these *Romish* Nurseries, these Scholars were taught several Handicraft Trades and Callings, as their Ingenuity were most bending, besides their Orders or Functions of that Church.

They have many yet at *Paris* a fitting up to be sent over, who twice in the Week oppose one the other; one pretending *Presbytery*, the other *Independency*, some *Anabaptism*, and other contrary Tenents, dangerous and prejudicial to the Church of *England*, and to all the Reformed Churches here abroad. But they are wisely preparing to prevent these Designs, which I heartily wish were considered in *England* among the Wise there.

When the *Romish* Orders do thus argue *pro* and *con*, there is appointed one of the Learned of those Convents, to take Notes and to judge. And as he finds their Fancies, whether for *Presbytery*, *Independency*, *Anabaptism*, *Atheism*, or for any new Tenents; so accordingly they be to act, and to exercise their Wits. Upon the Permission when they be sent abroad, they enter their Names in the *Convent* Registry, also their Licences: If

‘ a *Franciscan*, if a *Dominican* or *Jesuit*, or any other
 ‘ Order, having several Names there entered in
 ‘ their Licence; in case of a Discovery in one place,
 ‘ then to fly to another, and there to change their
 ‘ Names or Habit.

‘ For an Assurance of their Constancy to their
 ‘ several Orders, they are to give monthly Intelli-
 ‘ gence to their Fraternities, of all Affairs, where-
 ‘ ever they be dispersed: so that the *English* abroad
 ‘ know News better than ye at home.

‘ When they return into *England*, they are taught
 ‘ their Lesson, to say (if any enquire from whence
 ‘ they come) that they were poor *Christians* formerly
 ‘ that fled beyond Sea, for their Religion-sake,
 ‘ and are now return’d with glad News to enjoy
 ‘ the Liberty of Conscience.

‘ The 100 Men that went over 1646, were most
 ‘ of them Soldiers in the *Parliament's Army*, and
 ‘ were daily to correspond with those *Romanists* in
 ‘ the late King's Army, that were lately at *Oxford*,
 ‘ and pretended to fight for his sacred Majesty: for
 ‘ at that time there were some *Roman Catholicks* who
 ‘ did not know the Design a contriving against our
 ‘ Church and State of *England*.

‘ But the Year following, 1647, many of those
 ‘ *Romish* Orders who came over the Year before,
 ‘ were in Consultation together, knowing each
 ‘ other. And those of the King's Party asking
 ‘ some, why they took with the *Parliament's* Side,
 ‘ and asking others, whether they were bewitched
 ‘ to turn *Puritans*, not knowing the Design: but
 ‘ at last secret Bulls and Licences being produced
 ‘ by those of the *Parliament* Side, it was declared
 ‘ between them, that there was no better Design
 ‘ to confound the *Church of England*, than by pre-
 ‘ tended Liberty of Conscience. It was argued
 ‘ then, that *England* would be a second *Holland*, a
 ‘ Commonwealth; and if so, what would become
 ‘ of

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of the King? It was answered, Would to God it were come to that point. It was answer'd again, Yourfelves have preach'd fo much againſt *Rome*, and his *Holineſſ*, that *Rome* and her *Romaniſts* will be little better for that Change. But it was answer'd, You ſhall have Maſs ſufficient (for 100000) in a ſhort Space, and the Governours never the wiſer. Then ſome of the mercifulleſt of the *Romaniſts* ſaid, This cannot be done, unleſs the King die. Upon which Argument the *Romiſh* Orders thus licens'd, and in the Parliament-Army, wrote unto their ſeveral Convents, but eſpecially to the *Sorboniſts*, Whether it may be ſcrupled to make away our late godly King, and his Maſteſty his Son, our King and Maſter; who, bleſſed be God, hath eſcap'd their *Romiſh* Snares laid for him? It was return'd from the *Sorboniſts*, That it was lawful for *Roman Catholicks* to work Changes in Governments for the Mother Church's Advantage, and chiefly in Heretical Kingdoms; and ſo, lawful to make away the King.

Thus much to my Knowledge have I ſeen and heard, ſince my leaving your Lordſhip, which I thought very requiſite to inform your Grace; for myſelf would hardly have credited theſe things, had not mine Eyes ſeen ſure Evidence of the ſame. Let theſe things ſleep within your gracious Lordſhip's Breſt, and not awake but upon ſure Grounds; for this Age can truſt no Man, there being ſo great Fallacy amongſt Men: ſo the Lord preſerve your Lordſhip in Health, for the Nation's Good, and the Benefit of your Friends, which ſhall be the Prayer of

July 20.
1654.

Your Humble Servant,

J. Derenſis.

H

And

And *Peter du Moulin*, no Favourer of Popery, gives variety of Proofs to the same purpose, as *Mr. Neal* may be convinced, by referring to his Book cited in the * Margin.

Neal, p. 186. *But notwithstanding this Protestation, [of the Irish Bishops against a Toleration of Popery] the Papists gain'd their Point, and in the Fourth Year of the King's Reign had a Toleration granted them, in Consideration of the Sum of One Hundred and Twenty Thousand Pounds to be paid in Three Years.*

† *Collier* says, ‘ That this Resolution of the Bishops prevail’d with the Government, to wave the Thoughts of a Toleration, and pitch upon some other Expedient.’

Neal, p. 186. *To shew that Bishop Laud could not be ignorant of the dangerous Increase of Popery in Ireland; the Bishop Elect of Kilmore, Dr. Beadle, sent him the following Account about this Time. “ The Popish Clergy are more numerous than those of the Church of England. They have their Officials and Vicar-Generals for Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and are so hardy as to excommunicate those who appear at the Courts of the Protestants. Almost every Parish has a Priest of the Romish Communion, Masses are sometimes said in Churches, and excepting a few British Planters, not amounting to the Tenth Part of the People, the rest are all declar’d Recufants. In each Diocese there are not above seven or eight of the Reform’d Clergy well qualified. But these not understanding the Language of the Natives, cannot perform Divine Service, nor converse with their Parishioners to advantage, and consequently are in no Capacity to put a stop to Superstition.”*

* *Du Moulin's Answer to a Jesuitical Libel, entitled, Philanax Anglicus. Printed 1664, p. 58, 59, &c.*

† *Collier*, p. 739. See likewise *Cyprian, Anglic.* p. 206.

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Here we have a long Train of Mistakes ; Dr. *Bedell* is call'd Dr. *Beadle*, and *Bishop Elect* of *Kilmore*. He was Bishop of *Kilmore* and *Ardagh*, when this Letter was wrote, which bears Date *April 1. 1630.* when he subscribes himself, *Will. Kilmore and Ardagh.* *Bedell's Life*, p. 47. And in *Sir James Ware's* Book, *de Præsulibus Hiberniæ*, [p. 89. Edit. Lugd. Bat. 1717.] we are told that *Gulielmus Bedellus*, S. T. D. *Dublinii Præpositus*, ad utrumque *Episcopatum* promotus 1629. Post *Quadriennium*, *Episcopatu Ardachadensi se sponte abdicavit.*

Then he informs us, that this *Bishop Elect* of *Kilmore* (as he calls him) sent this Account of the Increase of Popery in Ireland to *Archbishop Laud* about this Time. By this Time, he must either refer to the Protestation of the *Irish* Bishops against Popery, just mention'd, which was dated *November 26. 1626*, or to the King's Answer to the Commons Remonstrance, (which he fathers upon *Bishop Laud*.) And this was in the Year 1628, two Years short of *Bishop Bedell's* Account. So that here is an *Anachronism*, or small Mistake (I had almost call'd it Blunder) in *Chronology*, which clears *Bishop Laud* of the Accusation laid to his charge. Farther, one would almost imagine from his violent Outcry upon this Occasion, That this Account had related to the State of Religion, in the whole Kingdom of *Ireland* ; when 'tis apparent from the Letter, that it related only to the two Dioceses of *Kilmore* and *Ardagh*, which *Mr. Collier* has remark'd, in the very Place *Mr. Neal* refers to. And I think a candid Historian could not fairly have left this unmentioned ; had it not been for his wise Remarks which follow ; which a fair State of the Case, would have rendred uselefs and insignificant.

Neal, p. 187. *The Bishop [Laud] observes in his Diary, that this Parliament labour'd his Ruin.*

100 Mr. NEAL'S II^d Vol. of the

And this follows in his Diary, p. 44. (omitted by Mr. Neal.) ' But God be ever blessed for it, ' found nothing against me.'

Neal, p. 188. *One of the Bishop's first Attempts, after his Translation to London, was to stifle the Predestinarian Controversy; for which he procured the Thirty-Nine Articles to be re-printed, with the following Declaration at the head of them. Bibl. Reg. Sect. 3. N^o. IV.*

How fairly he has transcribed it ; the Omissions and Alterations inserted in Brackets, from the Book he refers to, will show.

" By the King ;

" *Being by God's Ordinance and our* [according to
 " *our] just Title, Defender of the Faith, &c. within*
 " *these [our] Dominions, we hold it [most] agree-*
 " *able to our Kingly Office, [and our own religious*
 " *Zeal, to conserve and maintain the Church com-*
 " *mitted to our Charge, in the Unity of the true*
 " *Religion, and in the Bond of Peace. Bib. Reg.]*
 " *for the Preservation of Unity and Peace, not to*
 " *suffer any unnecessary Disputations, [Altercations*
 " *or Questions to be raised] in the Church or Com-*
 " *monwealth: We [have] therefore [upon mature*
 " *Deliberation] with the Advice of our Bishops de-*
 " *clare, [with the Advice of so many of our Bi-*
 " *shops as might conveniently be call'd together,*
 " *thought fit to make this Declaration following:]*
 " *That the Articles of the Church of England, which*
 " *the [have been allow'd and authoriz'd hereto-*
 " *fore, and which our] Clergy generally have sub-*
 " *scribed [unto] do contain the true Doctrine*
 " *of the Church of England, agreeable to God's*
 " *Word, which we therefore ratify and confirm; re-*
 " *quiring all our loving Subjects to continue in the uni-*
 " *form Profession thereof, and prohibiting the least*
 " *difference from the said Articles. [Which to that*
 " end

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“ end we command to be new printed, and this
“ our Declaration to be publish'd therewith.”]

Two Paragraphs here omitted, as follow :

[“ That we are supreme Governour of the Church
“ of *England*, and that if any difference arise a-
“ bout the External Polity, concerning *Injunc-*
“ *tions*, *Canons*, or other Constitutions whatsoever,
“ thereunto belonging ; the Clergy in their Convo-
“ cation is to order and settle them, having first
“ obtain'd leave under our Broad Seal so to do,
“ and we approving their said Ordinances and Con-
“ stitutions ; provided that none be made contrary
“ to the Laws and Customs of the Land.

“ That out of our princely Care, that the
“ Churchmen may do the Work, which is proper
“ unto them ; the Bishops and Clergy from time
“ to time in Convocation, upon their humble
“ Desire, shall have licence under our Broad Seal,
“ to deliberate of, and to do all such Things as be-
“ ing made plain by them, and assented to by us,
“ shall concern the settled Continuance of the Doc-
“ trine and Discipline of the Church of *England*
“ now establish'd ; from which we shall not endure
“ any varying in the least Degree.

“ That for the present tho' some Differences have
“ been ill-raised,] *We take comfort in this, that all*
“ *Clergymen within our Realm, have always most*
“ *willingly subscribed to the Articles, [established ;]*
“ *which is an Argument [to us] that they all agree*
“ *in the true, usual, literal Meaning of them, [the said*
“ *Articles ;] and that in those curious Points, in which*
“ *the present Differences lie, Men of all Sorts take the*
“ *Articles [of the Church of England] to be for*
“ *them : which is an Argument again, that none of*
“ *them intend any desertion of the Articles establish'd.*
“ [That therefore in these both curious and un-
“ happy Differences, which have for so many hun-
“ dred Years, in different Times and Places exer-

" cised the Church of Christ:] We will, that
 " all [further] curious Search into these Things be laid
 " aside, and these Disputes be shut up in God's Pro-
 " mises, as they be generally set forth to us in [the]
 " Holy Scriptures; and the general Meaning of the
 " Articles [of the Church of England] according to
 " them: or that no Man hereafter [shall either] preach
 " or print [print or preach] to draw the Article a-
 " side any way, but shall submit to it, in the plain
 " and full Meaning thereof; and shall not put his
 " own Sense or Comment to [be] the Meaning of the
 " Article, but shall take it in the Literal and Gram-
 " matical Sense: That if any publick Reader in the
 " [either of our] Universities, or any other Person
 " [respectively in either of them] shall affix any
 " new Sense to any Article, or shall publickly read
 " [determine] or hold [any publick] Disputation on
 " either side; [or suffer any such to be held either way,
 " in either of the Universities, or Colleges respec-
 " tively] or if any Divine in the Universities shall
 " preach or print any thing either way, [other than is
 " already establish'd in Convocation with our Royal
 " Assent; he, or they the Offenders shall be liable
 " to our Displeasure, and the Church's Censure in
 " our Commission Ecclesiastical, as well as any
 " other;] they shall be liable to Censure in the Eccle-
 " siastical Commission, and we will see there shall be
 " due Execution upon them."

Neal, p. 189. Surely there was never such a confused, unintelligible Declaration printed.

Softer Words (in my Opinion) would have much better become our *Historian* in this Place, who first curtails and alters the Sense of this Declaration; and then charges it with *Blunders*, which are of his own making. He may find it well-defended by Mr. Bingham in his *French Church's Apology for the Church of England*, p. 95.

Neal,

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Neal, *Ibid.* But the Calvinists understood the King's Intention, and complain'd in a Petition, of the Restraints they were laid under, by his Majesty's forbidding them to preach the saving Doctrines of God's Free Grace in Election, and Predestination to Eternal Life, according to the 17th Article of the Church.

The very Learned and Reverend Dr. Waterland furnishes me with a very good Answer to this Objection.

* ' In the Year 1628, the King prefix'd his famous Declaration to a New Edition of the Articles; which Declaration was design'd chiefly to bridle the Calvinists, but indeed to silence the Predestinarian Controversy on both sides. The Calvinists made loud Complaints against it; the King had confin'd them to the general Meaning of the Articles, the plain and full Meaning; had prohibited any new Sense, and the drawing the Article aside. This they interpreted to be laying a Restraint upon them, from preaching the saving Doctrines of God's Free Grace in Election and Predestination. But why so, if Calvinism had before been incorporated into our Articles, or if it were not a new Sense, and beside their plain and full Meaning? This Complaint from that quarter looks like a Confession, that our Articles were not in themselves Calvinistical; and that Calvinism could not be taught without introducing a New Sense, and drawing the Articles aside; or however, not without being more particular, than the Articles had been.'

Neal, p. 195. A Bill was depending in the House to grant his Majesty the Duties of Tonnage and Poudage; but before it was pass'd, the Custom-house Officers seiz'd the Goods of three eminent Merchants, Mr. Rolls, Mr. Chambers, and Mr. Vassal, for

* Dr. Waterland's Supplement to the Case of *Arian* Subscription, p. 56.

Non-Payment. Mr. Chambers was fined Two Thousand Pounds, besides the loss of his Goods, and suffer'd six Years Imprisonment.

‘ * Tho’ this Fine of Mr. Chambers’s estreated into the *Exchequer*, it was order’d by the Court of *Exchequer*, that the Goods should be deliver’d up to the said Chambers, upon the Payment of so much Money into Court, as the Duties demand- ed by the King did amount to.’

Neal, p. 196. Mr. Rolles’s Warehouses were lock’d up, and himself taken out of the House of Commons, and imprison’d. This occasion’d some warm Speeches against the Custom-house Officers, and Farmers of the Revenues; but the King took all upon himself, and sent the House word, that what the Officers had done, was by his special Direction and Command, and that it was not so much their Act as his own.

Mr. *Rusworth* sets this Affair in a much clearer Light; † ‘ Whilst the House was in Debate touching Matters of Religion, the Warehouse of Mr. *Rolls* (Merchant and Member of the House, then sitting in Parliament) was lock’d up by a Pursuivant, and himself call’d forth from the Committee and serv’d with a *Subpœna*. This gave Occasion of smart Debates in the House; some said, they were made the Subject of Scorn and Contempt; others conceiv’d this to be a Bone thrown in by them, that had drawn a Cloud on the true Religion, to divert or interrupt them in the Prosecution of that Matter; and they desir’d the Messenger might be sent for and examin’d, by what Procurement the *Subpœna* was taken forth. Sir *Humphrey May*, Chancellor of the *Dutchy*, and one of the Privy-Council, assur’d the House, That this neither proceeded from the King nor Council, and therefore desir’d it might be search’d to the

* *Frankland’s Annals, p. 365.*

† Vol. I. p. 653.

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bottom. And it was afterwards clear'd by Master Attorney-General, by his writing a Letter to Mr. Rolls, that the serving a *Subpœna* upon him was a Mistake, and pray'd that a favourable Interpretation might be given to the Matter.'

Neal, p. 196. *It was mov'd in the House, that notwithstanding the King's Answer, the Officers of the Customs should be proceeded against, by separating their Interests from the King's. But when the Speaker, Sir John Finch, was desir'd to put the Question, he refused, saying, The King had commanded the contrary. Upon which the House immediately adjourn'd to Jan. 25. and then were adjourn'd by the King's Order to March 2. When they met, and requir'd the Speaker to put the former Question, he refus'd again, and said he had the King's Order to adjourn them to March 16. [10th, it should be.] But they detain'd him in the Chair, not without some Tumult and Confusion, till they made the following Protestation.*

The King, in his Declaration concerning his third Parliament, * gives this Account of the Matter. ' Understanding by good Advertisement, that their ' Discontent did not in that time digest and pass ' away, we resolv'd to make a second Adjournment ' to the 10th of *March*: which was done as well ' to take time to ourself, to think of some means ' to accommodate those Difficulties, as to give ' them time to advise better; and accordingly we ' gave Commandment for a second Adjournment ' in both Houses, and Cessation of all Busineses till ' the Day appointed. Which was very dutifully ' obey'd in the higher House, no Man contradict- ' ing or questioning it; but when the same Com- ' mand was deliver'd to the House of Commons by ' their Speaker, it was straightways contradicted: ' And although the Speaker declar'd unto them, it

* King Charles's Works, p. 228. Rushworth, Vol. I. App. p. 9.

' was an absolute Right and Power in us to adjourn,
 ' as well as to prorogue or dissolve; and declar'd
 ' and read unto them, divers Precedents of that
 ' House, to warrant the same; yet our Command
 ' was most contemptuously disobey'd: and some
 ' rising up to speak, saying, they had Business to
 ' do before the House should be adjourn'd; the
 ' Speaker again declar'd our exprefs and peremp-
 ' tory Command to adjourn; and that himself
 ' should presently leave the House, and come un-
 ' to us: which he offer'd to do, but was withstood
 ' by two, that had of purpose placed themselves one
 ' on either side of the Speaker's Chair, and by
 ' Force held him in for a time. Yet the Speaker
 ' finding means to get out of the Chair, and pur-
 ' posing to come to us, as we had commanded,
 ' those two, and divers others, caught hold of him,
 ' and by strong hand brought him back, and set
 ' him in the Chair against his Will. And then a
 ' Member of that House cast out a most seditious
 ' Paper, framed by himself and his Adherents,
 ' without any Warrant from the House, and con-
 ' taining a *Proscription* of such, as in Duty and O-
 ' bedience to us, should advise or assist us in the
 ' Receipt of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, or should pay
 ' that Duty, as Enemies to the State, and required
 ' it should be read. A most audacious Insolency
 ' for any to presume to do that of their own heads,
 ' which if the whole House had done in that man-
 ' ner, had been above their Power, and had de-
 ' serv'd the highest Censure. But the Speaker re-
 ' fusing to read it, the Author of it took on him
 ' most seditiously and factiously to declare the Con-
 ' tents of it; and he and his other Adherents re-
 ' quir'd it should be put to the Question: which
 ' being mislik'd by many grave and wise Men in
 ' the House, and refus'd by the Speaker; (as we
 ' doubt not but all good Men will believe he had
 ' cause,

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cause, and even abhor'd the Memory of that insolent and seditious Act) yet many bitter Taunts and Invectives were uttered against the Speaker, by those factious Persons; and the Doors being fast lock'd, such as were well affected to our Service were, against their Wills, kept in the House all the time of this Tumult and Disorder. And when Advertisement came to us, That the House was in great Distemper, we first sent for the Serjeant of the House, whom they, after they knew our Pleasure therein, presumptuously detain'd. And after, we sent a Messenger unto them, by the Gentleman-Usher of the Higher House; but he coming to the Door, and declaring that he had a Message from us, was refused to be admitted; and being kept at the Door a long time, at last the House adjourn'd themselves, without receiving our Message. A Proceeding so irregular, as no Parliament can parallel; when our absolute Commands warranted by Law, and Precedents of former Times were disobey'd; the Speaker violated, our Messenger and Message excluded, which ought to be admitted, if they were a House; and if they were not a House, they ought not at all to have disputed, much less to blast the Honour of our Servants, to *proscribe* our best Subjects, and give Law to Sovereignty, striking at the very Essence of Monarchy. By all which it appears, that there wanted not Men in that House, that would get themselves a Name, by setting *Diana's* Temple on fire, and make themselves popular, by putting all the Kingdom in combustion. For what other End could there be in that malicious Speech, whereby a wicked *Shimei* at that time would make us odious in the Eyes of all our People, as if it were meant to transfer all Trade, and give the Fatness of the Land to Strangers! A Conceit
(we

‘ (we call God to witness) which never entred into
 ‘ our Soul, and we think never harbour’d in any
 ‘ Heart, but that seditious Heart which first
 ‘ broach’d it: for God forbid we should love any
 ‘ Ends so well, as by any Necessity be driven to
 ‘ forget that indissoluble Bond between us and our
 ‘ People.’ And yet how favourable does our Hi-
 storian speak of this Matter!

Neal, p. 197. On the Tenth of March, the King came to the House of Lords, and without sending for the Commons, or passing one single Act, dissolved the Parliament, with a very angry Speech against the leading Members of the Lower House, whom he called Vipers, that cast a Mist of Undutifulness over most of their Eyes. And as these Vipers (says his Majesty) must look for their Reward of Punishment, so you, my Lords, must justly expect from me that Favour, that a good King oweth to his loving and faithful Nobility.

‘ I would have become an impartial Historian, to have given us the King’s Words uncurtail’d*: ‘ Yet, to avoid (*says the King*) their Mistakings, let me tell you, that it is so far from me to adjudge all that House guilty; I know there are many there as dutiful Subjects as any in the World; *it being but some Vipers amongst them, that cast this Mist of Undutifulness over most of their Eyes.* Yet, to say truth, there was a good number there, that would not be infected with this Contagion; inso-much, that some did express their Duties in speaking, which was the general Fault of the House the last Day. To conclude, *as these Vipers, &c.** The † Proclamation for dissolving this Parliament, bears Date the *Second Day of March*; but ‖ Mr.

* King Charles’s Works, p. 166. *Rushworth*, Vol. I. p. 662. *Echard*, Vol. II. p. 79.

† Continuation of *Rymer’s Fœdera*, by *Sanderfon*, Vol. XIX. p. 29. *Rushworth*, p. 660.

‖ *Rushworth*, p. 662.

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Rushworth observes, ' that it was not published till
' the Tenth; but gives us no Authority for it. And
' he owns, that tho' the Speaker was not sent for,
' that divers of the Commons stood below the Bar,
' when the King made his Speech.'

Neal, p. 198. *The Members above-mentioned were
sentenced to be imprisoned during the King's pleasure,
and were accordingly kept under close Confinement many
Years, where Sir John Eliot died a Martyr for the
Liberties of his Country.*

I fear our Historian plays the *Panegyrist* too much
in this place, in stiling a Man (whom the Judges
called the *greatest Offender*, and *Ringleader*) a *Mar-
tyr: Patriot*, in my Opinion, in his Sense of *Pa-
triotism*, would have been Epithet sufficient. Mr.
Echard gives us a different Character of this *Mar-
tyr for the Liberties of his Country*; and tells us, [Vol.
II. p. 26.] ' That, out of his mortal Enmity to
' the Duke of *Buckingham*, he helped to blow up
' such a Flame in the House, as was never after
' extinguished.' And in another place, [p. 89.]
' If we look upon the Pride and Turbulency of his
' Spirit, his treacherous Barbarity to Mr. *Moyle*,
' [whom he stabb'd treacherously, p. 26.] and both
' his Flatteries and Spite to the Duke of *Bucking-
ham*, we can't help concluding him one of the
' greatest *Incendiaries* of the Nation; and that there
' is no Man more pernicious and dangerous, than a
' disgusted Courtier, who sets up for a *Patriot*.'

Neal, *ibid.* *But to justify these Proceedings to the
World, his Majesty published a Declaration of the
Causes of his dissolving the last Parliament. The De-
claration vindicates the taking of Tonnage, from the
Examples of his Predecessors.*

The King's Words *: ' The Session thus ended,
' the Parliament risen, that intended Remonstrance

* King Charles's Works, p. 224. Appendix to Rushworth's
1st Volume, p. 3. Frankland, p. 354.

' gave us occasion to look into that Business of *Ton-*
 ' *nage* and *Poundage*. And therefore, tho' our Ne-
 ' cessities pleaded for us, yet we were not apt to
 ' strain that Point too far, but resolved to guide
 ' ourselves by the Practice of former Ages, and
 ' Examples of our most noble Predecessors; think-
 ' ing those Counsels best warranted, which the
 ' Wisdom of former Ages, concurring with the
 ' present Occasions, did approve: and therefore
 ' gave order for a diligent Search of Records. Up-
 ' on which it was found, that although in the Par-
 ' liament holden in the first Year of the Reign of
 ' King *Edward IV.* the Subsidy of Tonnage and
 ' Poundage was not granted unto that King, but
 ' was first granted to him by Parliament, in the
 ' third Year of his Reign; yet the same was ac-
 ' counted and answered to the King, from the first
 ' Day of his Reign, all the first and second Years
 ' of his Reign, until it was granted by Parliament.
 ' And that in the succeeding times of King *Richard*
 ' *III.* King *Henry VII.* King *Henry VIII.* King
 ' *Edward VI.* Queen *Mary*, and Queen *Elizabeth*,
 ' the Subsidy of Tonnage and Poundage was not
 ' only enjoyed by every of those Kings and Queens,
 ' from the Death of each of them deceasing, until
 ' it was granted in Parliament unto the Successor;
 ' but in all those times, (being, for the most part,
 ' peaceable, and not burdened with like Charges
 ' and Necessities as these modern Times) the Par-
 ' liament did most readily and chearfully, in the
 ' beginning of every of those Reigns, grant the
 ' same, as a thing most necessary for the guarding
 ' of the Seas, Safety and Defence of the Realm,
 ' and Supportation of the Royal Dignity. And
 ' in the time of our Royal Father of blessed Me-
 ' mory, he enjoy'd the same a full Year, wanting
 ' some few Days, before the Parliament began, and
 ' above a Year before the Act of Parliament for
 ' Grant

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Grant of it was pass'd; * and yet when the Parliament was assembled, it was granted without difficulty. And in our own Time, we quietly received the same three Years and more, expecting with patience in several Parliaments, the like Grant thereof, as had been made to so many of our Predecessors; the House of Commons still professing, that Multitude of other Business, and not want of Willingness on their parts, had caused the settling thereof to be so long deferr'd, &c. And therefore upon these Reasons, we held it agreeable to our Kingly Honour, and necessary for the Safety and Honour of our Kingdom, to continue the Receipt thereof, as so many of our Predecessors had done. Wherefore, when a few Merchants (being at first but one or two) fomented, as it is well known, by those evil Spirits, that would have hatched that undutiful Remonstrance, began to oppose the Payment of our accustomed Duties in the Custom-house, we gave Order to the Officers of our Customs to go on, notwithstanding that Opposition, in receiving the usual Duties, and caused those that refused to be warned to attend at the Council-Board, that by the Wisdom and Authority of our Council, they might be reduced to Obedience and Duty: where some of them, without Reverence or Respect to the Honour and Dignity of that Presence, behaved themselves with such Boldness and Insolency of Speech, as was not to be endured by a far meaner Assembly, much less to be countenanced by a House of Parliament against the Body of our Privy-Council.

Neal, p. 198. *The Declaration concludes with a Profession, That the King will maintain the true Religion of the Church of England, without conniving at Popery or Schism; that he will maintain [the ancient and just] Rights and Liberties of his Subjects, [with*

* Anno primo Jacobi Regis, cap. 33.

' so much Constancy and Justice, that they shall
 ' have cause to acknowledge, that under our Go-
 ' vernment and gracious Protection, they live in a
 ' more happy and free Estate, than any Subjects
 ' in the *Christian World*.' Omitted by Mr. Neal.]
provided they do not misuse their Liberty, by turning
it into Licentiousness, [nor misinterpret the Petition,
 ' by perverting it to a lawless Liberty.' Omitted
 by Neal] *wantonly and frowardly [under that or any*
 ' other Colour] *resisting our lawful and necessary*
Authority: [for as we will maintain our Subjects in
 ' their just Liberties. Omitted] *we do expect our*
Subjects should yield as much Submission [and Duty]
to our Royal Prerogative, and as ready Obedience to
our Authority and Commandments, as has been per-
formed to the greatest of our Predecessors. We will
not have our Ministers terrified by harsh Proceedings
against them; for as we expect our Ministers should
obey us, they shall assure themselves we will protect them.

The King's Words: ' And for our Ministers,
 ' we will not that they be terrified by those harsh
 ' Proceedings, that have been strain'd against some
 ' of them: for as we will not command any thing
 ' unjust or dishonourable, but shall use our Au-
 ' thority and Prerogatives for the Good of our
 ' People; so we will expect that our Ministers
 ' obey us, and they shall assure themselves we will
 ' protect them.'

Neal, p. 199. *This Declaration not quieting the*
People, was followed by a Proclamation, [In the Mar-
gin, A Proclamation for prescribing a Time for calling
Parliaments for the future. Rushworth, Vol. II. p.
3.] which put an end to all Prospects of recovering the
Constitution for the future.

The Title of the Proclamation, *A Proclamation*
for suppressing false Rumours touching Parliaments *.

* King Charles's Works, p. 230. Rymer's *Fœdera*, Vol. XIX.
 p. 62.

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Rushworth informs us in the Place referred to *,
“ That upon the Dissolution of the last Parliament,
“ the People were highly discontented, and uttered
“ unpleasing Speeches and Discourses; That if a
“ Parliament was not presently called again, all
“ things would be unsettled, and out of order, and
“ Trading would fail, and Conteſts would arise a-
“ bout Tonnage and Poundage, &c. Whereupon
“ His Majesty set forth a *Proclamation for suppress-*
“ *ing false Rumours touching Parliaments.*”

And there was no appearance of Danger to the
Constitution from this Proclamation, even as cur-
tail'd by Mr. *Neal*; and much less, when his Omis-
sions are inserted.

Neal, *ibid.* *The Proclamation declares His Ma-*
jeſty's Royal Pleasure, That the Spreaders of false
News should be punished. [The Preamble omitted,
which is as follows,]

“ Whereas, notwithstanding our late Declaration
“ for satisfying of the Minds and Affections of our
“ loving Subjects, some ill-disposed Persons do
“ spread false and pernicious Rumours abroad, as
“ if the scandalous and seditious Proposition in the
“ House of Commons, made by an *cutlawed* Man,
“ desperate in Mind and Fortune, which was tu-
“ multuously taken up by some few, after that by
“ our Royal Authority we had commanded their
“ Adjournment, had been the Vote of the whole
“ House; whereas the contrary is the Truth: for
“ it was then decreed by the wisest and best affec-
“ ted, and is now disavow'd upon Examination, by
“ such as were suspected to have consented there-
“ unto; and affirmed as well by them, as others,
“ who served in the House that Day, to be a thing
“ of a most wicked and dangerous Consequence to
“ the good Estate of this Kingdom; which ap-
“ peareth to be so, by those Impressions which

* *Rushworth*, Vol. II. p. 3.

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“ this false Rumour hath made in Mens Minds,
 “ whereby, out of causeless Fears, the Trade of
 “ the Kingdom is disturbed, and Merchants dis-
 “ couraged to continue in their wonted Traffick;
 “ we have thought it expedient, not only to ma-
 “ nifest the Truth thereof, but to make known
 “ our Royal Pleasure, That those, &c.”

*Neal, ibid. That, such as chearfully go on with
 their Trades, shall have all good Encouragement;
 that he will not over-charge his Subjects with any new
 Burdens, but will satisfy himself with the Duties re-
 ceiv'd by his Royal Father: which he neither can nor
 will dispense with. [But shall esteem them unworthy
 “ of our Protection, who shall deny the same; we
 “ intending to employ it for Defence of our King-
 “ doms, Dominion of our Seas, and Safeguard of
 “ our Merchants, especially by such Shipping as
 “ are now making ready, and such further Pre-
 “ paration for Aid of our Friends and Allies, as
 “ need shall require.” Omitted by Mr. Neal.]*

*And whereas for several ill Ends, the calling of an-
 other Parliament is divulged, [“ howsoever we have
 “ shewed by our frequent meeting with our People,
 “ our Love to the Use of Parliaments.” Omitted
 by Mr. Neal.] His Majesty declares, That the late
 Abuse having, for the present, driven His Majesty un-
 willingly out of that Course; he shall account it Pre-
 sumption for any to prescribe any Time to His Majesty
 for Parliaments, the Calling, Continuing, and Dissol-
 ving of which, is always in the King's own power.
 Then follows, [And we shall be more inclinable
 “ to meet in Parliament again, when our People
 “ shall see more clearly into our Intents and Ac-
 “ tions, when such as have bred this Interruption
 “ shall have receiv'd their condign Punishment,
 “ and those who are misled by them, and such ill
 “ Reports as are raised upon this Occasion, shall
 “ come*

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“ come to a better Understanding of us and themselves.]

Neal, p. 204. *The ancient legal Government of England, by King, Lords, and Commons, being now suspended by the Royal Will and Pleasure, His Majesty resolved to supply the Necessities of his Government by such other Methods as his Council should advise, &c. Instead of the Laws of the Land, all publick Affairs were directed by Proclamations of the King and Council. They collected the Duties of Tonnage and Poundage, without Act of Parliament; the number of Monopolies were incredible, there was no Branch of the Subjects Property that the Government could dispose of, but was bought and sold. They raised above a Million a Year, by the Imposts upon Soap, Candles, Wine, Cards, &c. And, p. 205. he concludes his calamitous Account thus; Such was the Calamity of the Times, that no Man could call any thing his own, longer than the King pleased.*

I hope (as he gives us no Authority but his own) that all this is not true; nay, we have great reason to believe the contrary, from Lord *Clarendon's* Account, mentioned afterwards by Mr. *Neal*, p. 308. And Lord *Clarendon* lived in those Times, and, I think, must be a more competent Judge than Mr. *Neal*. * ‘ Now, after all this, *says he*, (and ‘ I hope I cannot be accused of much Flattery in ‘ this Inquisition) I must be so just as to say, That ‘ during the whole Time that these Pressures were ‘ exercised, and those new and extraordinary Ways ‘ were run; that is, from the Dissolution of the ‘ Parliament in the fourth Year, to the beginning ‘ of this Parliament, which is above twelve Years; ‘ this Kingdom, and all His Majesty's Dominions (of ‘ the Interruption in *Scotland*, somewhat shall be said ‘ in its due time and place) enjoy'd the greatest Calm ‘ and fullest Measure of Felicity, that any People,

* *History*, Vol. I. p. 58.

‘ in any Age, for so long a time together, have
 ‘ been blessed with, to the Wonder and Envy of
 ‘ all the other Parts in *Christendom*.’ And then he
 goes on, comparing that Period of Time with the
 Reigns of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*.

Neal, p. 205. Dr. *Laud* Bishop of *London* being
 Prime Minister, pursued his imaginary Scheme of uni-
 ting the two Churches of England and Rome.

From whence does this appear? I think his An-
 swer to *Fisher* the Jesuit is a sufficient Confutation
 of this bold Assertion. Even Sir *Edward Dering*,
 (almost as great an Enemy to Bishop *Laud*, as Mr.
Neal) was so just to confess *, ‘ That in his Book
 ‘ against *Fisher* the Jesuit, he had muzzled the Je-
 ‘ suit, and would strike the Papists under the fifth
 ‘ Rib, when he was dead and gone; and being
 ‘ dead, where-ever his Grave should be, *Paul*’s
 ‘ would be his perpetual Monument, and his own
 ‘ Book his Epitaph.’ To which I will add what
 the reverend and learned Dr. *Berryman* says, (in
 answer to Mr. *Chandler*’s Charge of Popery upon
 this Archbishop) † ‘ As to the senseless Charge of
 ‘ Popery, and other Calumnies, I shall only sub-
 ‘ join the Judgment of *Limborch*, who, to be sure,
 ‘ was no Bigot to Ecclesiastical Power; in his Pre-
 ‘ face to the Second Edition of *Præstantium ac*
 ‘ *Eruditorum virorum Epistolæ Ecclesiasticæ*, printed
 ‘ at *Amsterdam* 1684, after naming several Persons,
 ‘ whose Epistles are added in his Second Edition, he
 ‘ has these Words: “ And lastly, the Epistles of
 ‘ “ *William Laud* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, most
 ‘ “ worthy of all Remembrance.” And afterwards,
 ‘ when he is shewing what Judgment may be
 ‘ formed of the Spirit and Tempers of the Writers,
 ‘ from these friendly Correspondencies, he pro-

* *Dering*’s Collection of Speeches, p. 5.

† Remarks on Mr. *Chandler*’s Hist. of the Inquisition, &c.
 p. 72. London 1733.

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ceeds: " But above all, the most Reverend
" *William Laud* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who
" was beheaded by red-hot Zealots, for the Cause
" of Religion, shews himself an admirable Man;
" who being so vehemently set upon, loaded with
" so many Calumnies, does not, in the most fa-
" miliar Letters to *Vossius*, utter any ill Language
" against his fiercest Enemies;" but, after the
Example of his Saviour, when he was reviled, he
reviled not; and when he suffered, he threatned not;
but blessed them that cursed him, and most ardently
pray'd for them that persecuted him. " Here he is
" so entirely purged from that monstrous Accusa-
" tion, with which he was, by the most enraged
" Enemies, openly and most odiously traduced be-
" fore the whole World, as if he was endeavouring
" to bring back Popery into the Church of Eng-
" land, that Devilishness itself can find nothing
" where to fix its Teeth: here are his continued
" Instances repeated, no less than ten times over in
" his Letters, that *Vossius* would take upon himself
" the Task of confuting *Baronius*; infomuch, that
" he never left off to urge it:" I greatly desire
(says he) before I go to the Grave, to see *Baronius*
falling under your Arms; nor may you expect any
Letter from me without a Spur. This is the great
Character that *Limborch* gives of Archbishop *Laud*;
which plainly proves how groundless Mr. *Neal*'s
Assertion is, and that he pursued no such Scheme,
as that of uniting the two Churches of England and
Rome.

Neal, p. 209. Mr. Peter Smart, one of the Pre-
bendaries of Durham, and Minister in that City, was
imprisoned by the High Commission of York this Sum-
mer, [1629.] for a Sermon preach'd from those Words,
I hate all those that love superstitious Vanities, but
thy Law do I love; in which he took occasion to speak
against Images and Pictures, and the late pompous In-
novations.

novations. He was confined four Months, before the Commissioners exhibited any Articles against him. From York he was carried up to Lambeth, and from thence back again to York, where he was deprived of his Prebendary, [it should be Prebend] degraded, excommunicated, fined Five hundred Pounds, committed close Prisoner, where he continued eleven Years, till he was set at liberty by the Long Parliament in 1640.

Anthony Wood informs us, (*Athenæ*, Vol. II. p. 11.) that he was first questioned in the High-Commission Court at *Durham*.

How deserving he was of this Punishment, I will not say, yet cannot but think some Passages in his Sermon highly provoking. * ‘ The Whore of *Babylon*’s bastardly Brood, doating upon their Mother’s Beauty, that painted Harlot the Church of *Rome*, has labour’d to restore her all her Robes and Jewels again, especially her Looking-glasses the Mass, in which she may behold all her Bravery: for they, despising all the plain Simplicity of that grave Matron, Christ’s holy Spouse, have turned her Offices all out of doors, with all her Household-Stuff, her Tables, her Books, her Cups, her Communion, the very Names of her Ministers: instead whereof, the Words *Priest* and *Altar* are taken up by them; because without a Priest no Sacrifice can be offer’d; without Priest and Sacrifice, there is no Use of an Altar; and without all three, there can be no Mass.

‘ Before, we had Ministers, as the Scripture calls them, we had Communion-Tables, we had Sacraments; but now we have Priests, we have Sacrifices, and Altars, with much Altar-Furniture, and many Massing Implements. Nay, what want we? Have we not all Religion again? For if Religion consists in Altar-ducking, Cope-wearing,

* *Peter Smarts’s* Sermon in the Cathedral of *Durham*, July 17. 1628, p. 11. *presses* Rev. Tho. Baker, S.T.B.

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‘ Organ-playing, Piping and Singing, crossing
‘ of Cushions, kissing of Clouts, oft starting up,
‘ and squatting down, nodding of Heads, and
‘ whirling about till their Noses stand eastward;
‘ in Candlesticks, Crucifixes, burning of Wax-
‘ Candles, and (what is worst of all) gilding of
‘ Angels, garnishing Images, and setting them
‘ up: if, I say, Religion consists in these, and such
‘ like Superstitious Vanities, Ceremonial Fooleries,
‘ Apish Toys, and Popish Trinkets, we had never
‘ more Religion than now. [*Ibid.* p. 23, 24.]

‘ They are Whores and Whoremongers, they
‘ commit spiritual Fornication, who bow their
‘ Bodies before the Idol. Altar. [*Ib.* p. 26.]

‘ I have heard of a Devil that preach’d, I have
‘ heard of a Fryar that preach’d in a Rope; but
‘ I never heard of a Devil or Fryar that preach’d
‘ in a Cope.’ [*Ib.* p. 36.]

There are many more exceptionable Passages in the Sermon; but these are sufficient to show the Spirit of the Man, who was called by Mr. Rouze, in a Speech before the House of Commons, *March* 16. 1640. * the *Protomartyr*, and he moved for a Censure upon Dr. *Cousens*, Dr. *Manwaring*, and Dr. *Beale*, who had been instrumental in having him censured in the High-Commission Court.

Neal, *ibid.* He was a Person of grave and reverend Aspect, but died soon after his Release; the Severity of a long Imprisonment having contributed to the shortening his Days.

† *Peter Smart* was 76 Years old 1643, and was alive *October* 12. 1647: so that his Days were not much shortned, he being 80 Years old; and he survived his Release 7 Years, or more.

* Speeches and Passages of this great and happy Parliament, Published 1641, p. 43. See a Character of *Smart*, Archbishop *Laud*’s Trial and Troubles, p. 213.

† *Septuagenarii senis Itinerantis Cant. Epithalam.* Dat. Feb. 16. 1643. Ætat. 76. penes Reverend. *Tho. Baker*.

Neal, p. 217. Dr. Alexander Leighton, a Scots Divine, met with severer Usage in the Star-Chamber, for venturing to write against the present Hierarchy of the Church. This Divine had published, during the last Session of Parliament, An Appeal to the Parliament; or, Zion's Plea against Prelacy: in which he had spoken not only with Freedom, but with very great Rudeness and Indecency against Bishops, calling them Men of Blood, &c. He calls the Prelacy of the Church Antichristian, &c. He calls the Queen a Daughter of Heth; and concludes with saying, What pity so ingenuous and tractable a King should be so monstrously abused by the Bishops, to the Undoing of himself and his Subjects?

A large Collection of Passages from this scandalous Libel, are to be met with in *Frankland's Annals*, [p. 374.] whither I refer the Reader, or to *Rusworth*, p. 55, &c. or to the Libel itself, which contains 344 Pages in Quarto, *Printed (says the Title) the Year and Month wherein Rochell was lost.

Neal, *ibid.* Now, though the Warmth of these Expressions is not to be justified, yet let the Reader consider whether they bear any proportion to the Sentence of the Court. The Cause was tried June 4. 1630. The Defendant owned the writing the Book, but with no ill Intention; his Design being only to lay these things before the Parliament, for their Consideration. Nevertheless the Court decreed unanimously, That for this Offence the Doctor should be committed to the Prison of the Fleet for Life, [‘unless His Majesty shall be graciously pleased to enlarge him.’ *Rusworth*, p. 56. Omitted by Mr. Neal.] and pay a Fine of Ten Thousand Pounds; that the High-Commission should degrade him from his Ministry, and that then he should be brought to the Pillory at Westminster, and be whipt; after whipping, be set upon the Pillory a convenient Time, and have one of his Ears cut off, one

* *Penes me.*

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side of his Nose slit, and be branded in the Face with a double SS for a Sower of Sedition, &c.

* *Rusſworth* tells us, ' That the two Lord Chief Juſtices being preſent, deliver'd their Opinions, ' That they would, without any ſcruple, have proceeded againſt the Defendant as for Treafon, ' committed by him, if he had come before them. ' And other Lords expreſſly affirmed, That it was ' His Maſteſty's exceeding great Mercy and Goodneſs, that he was brought to receive Sentence of ' this Court, and not queſtioned at any other Tribunal as a Traitor.' In another place, † *Rusſworth* ſays, ' The ſevere Punishment of this unfortunate Gentleman many People pitied, he being a Perſon well known both for Learning and Abilities. Only his untempered Zeal (as his Countrymen then gave out) prompted him to that Miſtake, for which the Neceſſity of Affairs at that time required this Severity at the hand of the Magiſtrate, more than perhaps the Crime would do in a following Juncture.'

Neal, p. 218. *Biſhop Laud pulled off his Cap whiſt this merciless Sentence was pronouncing, and gave God Thanks for it.*

Not one word of this in the place he refers to in *Rusſworth*, p. 55. Nor do I believe it is to be met with any where, but in Mr. *Neal's* Book, and fear 'tis a Fiction of his own too proliſtick Brain.

Neal, *ibid.* On Friday, November 6. part of the Sentence was executed upon him, (ſays *Biſhop Laud*, in his *Diary*) after this manner: " He was " ſeverely whipt before he was put in the Pillory. " 2. Being ſet on the Pillory, he had one of his Ears " cut off. 3. One ſide of his Noſe ſlit. 4. Branded " on the Cheek with a red-hot Iron with the Letter " SS, &c."

* Part II. p. 56.

† P. 58.

All that Bishop *Laud* says, whom he quotes as above, (*Diary*, p. 45.) ‘ November 26, Friday, part of his Sentence was executed upon him at *Westminster*.’ No Particulars mentioned. And *Rushworth* led him into this Mistake!

Neal, p. 219. *I believe the Records of the Inquisition can hardly furnish an Example of equal Severity.*

* *Fuller* observes upon it as follows: ‘ It is remarkable, that among the many Accusations charged on Archbishop *Laud*, at his Trial, the Severity on *Leighton* is not at all mentioned, chiefly because (tho’ he might be suspected active therein) his Faults were of so high a Nature, none then, or since, dare appear in his Defence.’

Neal, p. 219. *The Church of Saint Catherine Creed being lately repair’d, was suspended from all Divine Service, till it was consecrated again; the Formality of which being very extraordinary, may give us an Idea of the Superstition of this Prelate.*

† The Archbishop, in his Defence, says, ‘ That Bishop *Andrews* made this Form (from whom I desired a Copy, and had it) which I observed.’

And Dr. *Heylin* informs us, || ‘ That he, as Chaplain, attended him at the Consecration of a new Church built at *Stanmore Magna*, in the County of *Middlesex*, erected at the sole Cost and Charges of Sir *John Wolfelholm*, one of the Farmers of the Customs; and that he observed the Circumstances of religious Ceremonies that were used by him in that sacred Action, from his first coming into the Church, to his going out, but could see nothing in it favouring of that Superstition, which had raised so much talk amongst the ignorant People, and afterwards was certified by

* Hist. B. XI. p. 136.

† *Rushworth*, p. 78. *Pryn's Canterbury's Doom*, p. 121.

|| *Cyprian. Anglic.* p. 201.

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‘ *Willingham*, at the time of his Trial, in reference
‘ to *Creed Church*.’

Neal, p. 220. *He read several Collects; in one of which, he prays God to accept of that beautiful Building; and concludes thus: We consecrate this Church, and separate it unto thee as Holy Ground, not to be profaned any more to common Use.*

In a Form of Dedication and Consecration of a Chappel in MSS, in Archbishop *Laud*’s own hand, bound up with the Form of Coronation, before mentioned, I find a Collect much differing from this.

* ‘ Accept then, we beseech thee, O gracious Father, of this our bounden Duty and Service; accept of this for thine House; and because Holiness becometh thine House, sanctify this with thy gracious Presence, which is erected to the Honour of thy glorious Name.’

Neal, p. 221. *The next Day he consecrated Saint Gyles’s Church in the same manner, which had been repair’d, and part of it new built, in his Predecessor’s Bishop Mountain’s time.*

† *Heylin* says, it was consecrated the Sunday after.

Neal, *ibid*. *Divine Service had been performed, and the Sacraments administred in it, for three or four Years since that time, without Exception; but as soon as Laud was advanced to the Bishoprick of London, he interdicted the Church, and shut up the Doors, till it should be reconsecrated; which is more than the Canon Law requires.*

This is boldly asserted, and but slenderly proved; its being used after Rebuilding, was directly contrary to the Constitutions of || *Orho* and *Orho*—

* MSS in St. John’s Library Cambridge, 12^{mo}. N^o 12. p. 68.

† *Heylin*’s *Cyprianus Anglicus*, p. 201.

|| *Constit. Orho*, A. D. 1237. 22 Hen. III. *Statuimus, & Statuendo precipimus, ut omnes Cathedrales, Conventuales, & Parochiales Ecclesia, qua perfectis Parietibus sunt constructa, infra Biennium.*

* *Othobon*. By the first, 'tis ordered to be consecrated within two Years; and by the second, within a Year.

† And the Consecration of Churches is fully proved to be primitive, by Dr. *Heylin*.

Neal, *ibid.* *This Method of consecrating Churches was new to the People of England, and was in the Opinion of the first Reformers superstitious and absurd.*

|| ' I must confess, (says *Heylin*) that there occurs no Form of such Consecration in our *English Liturgies*; those Times were more inclinable to the pulling down of old Churches, than building of new; witness the demolition of so many *Hospitals, Chantries, and Free-Chappels*, in the unfortunate Minority of *Edward VI.* But when the Times were better settled, and that new Churches began to be erected, and old ones to be repair'd, some Bishops made a Form of Consecration to be used by themselves on such Occasions. And others followed a Form composed by Bishop *Andrews*, a Man as averse as any from the Corruptions and Superstitions of the Church of *Rome*.

Neal, p. 233. *Henry Sherfield Esq; a Benchet of Lincoln's-Inn, and Recorder of the City of Sarum, was tried in the Star-Chamber, May 20. 1632, for taking down some painted Glass out of one of the Windows of Saint Edmund's Church in Salisbury, in which were seven Pictures of God the Father, in the Form of a little old Man in a blue and red Coat, with*

per Diocesanos Episcopos, ad quos pertinent, vel eorum auctoritate, per alios consecrentur; sicque infra simile tempus fiat in Ecclesiis construendis. Et ne tam salubre Myſterium, ac Statutum transeat in Contemptum, si loca hujusmodi non fuerint infra Biennium à Perfectionis tempore dedicata, à Missarum solemnibus usque ad consecrationem manere statuimus interdicta, nisi aliquâ causâ rationabili excusentur. Bishop *Gibson's Codex*, p. 210.

* *Constit. Othobon.* A. D. 1268. 52 Hen. III.

† *Introduction to Cyprianus Anglicus*, p. 11.

|| *Id. ibid.*

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a Pouch by his side, &c. Ibid. p. 234. The Information sets forth, "That being evil-affected to the Discipline of the Church, he, with certain Confederates, without Consent of the Bishop, had defaced and pulled down a fair and costly Window in the Church, containing the History of the Creation, which had stood there some hundred Years, and was a great Ornament to it; which prophane Act might give Encouragement to other Schismatical Persons to commit the like Outrages." Pryn's *Canterbury's Doom*, p. 102.

* In the Information: 'And the Reverend Father in God, John Lord Bishop of Sarum, having heard a Report of this purpose, sent a Messenger to Mr. Sherfield, and the other Confederates, to admonish them to forbear to put it in execution; and to that end, he wrote a Letter to Sherfield, which came to his hand.

† 'Davenant (says Heylin) at that time was Bishop of Sarum, and lived, for the most part, in his Palace there; a Man of known Difaffection to the Church of Rome, and all the superstitious Vanities and Corruptions of it. Had he been made acquainted with it, there is no question to be made, but that he would have gratified the Man, in causing the said Window to be taken down in a peaceable way; or else have given such good Reasons to the contrary, as would have qualified the Peccancy of the present Humour.'

Neal, *ibid.* Mr. Sherfield, in his Defence, says, That the Church of St. Edmund's was a Lay Fee, and exempted from the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of the Diocese; that the Defendant, with the rest of the Parishioners, had lawful Power to take down the Glass, and that it was agreed by a Vestry, that the Glass should be made new; and accordingly that he

* Rushworth, Part II. p. 153.

† Cyprianus Anglicus, p. 216.

126 *Mr. NEAL'S II^d Vol. of the*
took down a Quarry or two in a quiet and peaceable
manner.

* ‘ *Sherfield* (says *Heylin*) being Recorder, and
‘ thinking he had the Law in his Hands, as well as
‘ he had in his Head, must go another way to work,
‘ and bring the Business to be agitated in a Parish
‘ Vestry. The Elders of the Vestry being as willing
‘ to embrace the Business, as he was to commend
‘ it to them, enabled him at the next Church Ses-
‘ sion, in the Month of *January* 1629, to ease his
‘ Conscience of that Burden, by taking down the
‘ offensive Window, and setting up another of
‘ plain white Glass in the place thereof: and yet
‘ this gave him no Content, unless he might shew
‘ a more than ordinary Zeal in defacing those Ima-
‘ ges, which he was ordered to take down; and
‘ did accordingly deface them, beating down the
‘ Pictures with his Staff, in such a violent and scan-
‘ dalous way, as was disrelished by most moderate
‘ Men of his own Persuasion.’

And *Pryn* owns, † ‘ That he did, with his Staff,
‘ break or pick out some of those Pieces of Glass
‘ representing God the Father.’ But, as an Allevia-
‘ tion of the Crime, he adds; ‘ Which amounted
‘ not to above the Value of Sixpence, the whole
‘ Glass-Window not being worth above Forty Shil-
‘ lings, when it was new.’

Neal, p. 240. *The King left his native Country*
July 16; but lost a great deal of ground in the Af-
fections of his People, by the Contempt he pour'd upon
the Scots Clergy, and his Behaviour in favour of the
English Ceremonies.

Lord *Clarendon's* Account of the King's Recep-
‘ tion in *Scotland*, differs widely from this of *Mr.*
Neal: || ‘ The great Civility (says he) of that

* *Cyprianus Anglicus*, p. 216.

† *Pryn's Canterbury's Doom*, p. 102.

|| *History of the Rebellion*, Vol. I. p. 64.

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People, being so notorious and universal, that they would not appear unconformable to His Majesty's Wish, in any Particular : And many wife Men were then, and still are of Opinion, that if the King had then propos'd the Liturgy of the Church of *England* to have been received and practis'd by that Nation, it would have been submitted to without Opposition; but upon mature Consideration, the King concluded, it was not a good Season to promote that Business.* And I think, the Preamble to the first Act of that his first Parliament, holden 28th Day of *June* 1633, entitled, *Anent the Taxation granted to His Majesty, of Thirtie Shillings tearmely upon the Pound Land, and the Sixteenth Pennie of all annual Rents*; plainly proves the high Degree of Esteem he was then in amongst them.

* ' In the Parliament holden at *Edinburgh*, on the 28th Day of *June*, in the Year of God 1633, the three Estates of Parliament being assembled, having taken to their Consideration the many Blessings which this Nation doth enjoy under His Majestie's most wise, happy, and peaceable Government, whereof each Estate is most sensible, His Majestie's Royal Zeale for propagating the Gospel of *Jesus Christ*, his Care for providing sufficient Maintenance for the Clergy, his extraordinary Pains taken for uniting the disjointed Members of this Commonwealth, and extirping of all Roots of Discords, relieving the Oppressed, and with so even and fatherly a Hand curing the Wounds of this Commonwealth, as the wisest Eye can find no Blemish in the Temper of all his Royal Actions; and last, the great Comfort they have by enjoying His Majestie's Royal Presence, Pains taken, and Expences by His Majestie,

* The Laws and Acts of Parliament, &c. of *Scotland*, Collected by Sir *Thomas Murray*, Baronet, *Edinb.* 1681. p. 453.

‘ in this His Majestie’s Journey; with a most
 ‘ thankful Acknowledgement, are most earnestly
 ‘ and humbly to entreat His Sacred Majestie, to
 ‘ accept of this their voluntary Offer of ane Taxa-
 ‘ tion to be imposed, collected, and payed to His
 ‘ Gracious Majestie, in Manner, and at the Terms
 ‘ following.

* Act 9. ‘ His Majestie being now present in
 ‘ His Royal Person, within this Kingdom, and
 ‘ having, by God’s Grace, Favour, and Blessing,
 ‘ and with the general Acclamation, Joy, and
 ‘ Comfort of His Subjects, accepted the Crown
 ‘ thereof, wherein he is gloriously inaugurate;
 ‘ and now holding the first Parliament of His
 ‘ whole Estates of the said Kingdom, &c. There-
 ‘ fore His Majestie, with consent of the three E-
 ‘ states, &c. hath statute, enacted, and ordained,
 ‘ &c.’

And Sir *Roger Manley* informs us; † ‘ That
 ‘ the King had heap’d so many Graces upon them,
 ‘ upon his being in *Scotland*, having refused them
 ‘ nothing that they had demanded of him, that
 ‘ their Parliament taken with so great Indulgence,
 ‘ had decreed, That if any whosoever should levy
 ‘ Men, or take up Arms, upon any Pretence
 ‘ whatsoever, except by the King’s exprefs Order,
 ‘ should be guilty of damnable Treason. Nay,
 ‘ they profess farther upon Oath, That in case the
 ‘ King’s Person should at any time be endangered,
 ‘ they would defend His Majesty’s Cause and Ho-
 ‘ nour, as they were in Duty bound, with their
 ‘ Lives and Fortunes.’

Neal, p. 250. *This Declaration* [for Sports] *re-*
vived the Controversy of the Morality of the Sabbath,
which had slept for many Years. *Mr. Theophilus*
Brabourn, a Suffolk Minister, had published in the

* *Ibid.* p. 493.

† *History of the Rebellion of England*, p. 64, 65.

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Year 1628, a Defence of the most ancient and sacred Ordinance of God, the Sabbath-Day, and dedicated it to the King. But Fuller observes, That the poor Man fell into the Ambush of the High Commission, whose well-temper'd Severity so well prevail'd with him, [That submitting himself to a private Confession, and perceiving the Unsoundness of his own Principles. Omitted by Mr. Neal.]* That he became a Convert, and conform'd quietly to the Church of England.

* Brabourn, a Clergyman in Suffolk, asserted, That the Lord's-Day was an ordinary Working-Day, and of consequence the Jewish Sabbath ought to be observ'd as such, which appear'd at last with open Confidence, with an Epistle Dedicatory to the King.† Dr. Heylin observes upon it, † That his Majesty was so extremely mov'd at so lewd an Impudence, and fearing to bethought the Patron of a Doctrine so abhorrent from all Christian Piety, he order'd the Author to be censured in the High Commission.‡ And Dr. Hollingworth, speaking of the Book of Sports, says, ‡ That whosoever observes the Liberty there given, the Restraints laid down, and the Reasons of both, must acknowledge all contain'd therein, to proceed from a truly Christian Disposition.

Nay || Calvin allows of lawful Recreations upon that Day to Servants.

* Rogers's Preface to his 39 Articles, p. 22. Fuller's Church-History, Book xi. p. 144.

† Cyprianus Anglicus, p. 243.

‡ Defence of the Royal Martyr against Ludlow, p. 161.

|| Instit. Lib. 2. Cap. 8. Sect. 28. Tertio, Servis, & iis qui sub aliorum degerent imperio, quietis Diem indulgendum censui, quo aliquem haberent a Labore Remissionem.

Instit. Lib. 2. Cap. 8. Sect. 34. Crasâ, Carnalique Sabbatismi Superstitione, Ter, Judeos superans.

Neal, p. 252. *Sir Nathaniel Brent, his Grace's Vicar-General, attested upon Oath at the Archbishop's Trial, that he gave him a special Charge to convene all Ministers before him, who would not read the Book of Sports upon the Lord's-Day, and to suspend them for it.* 'Twould have been fair to have given the Archbishop's Answer to this Charge.

* The first Witness (says the Archbishop) produced, was *Sir Nathaniel Brent*, who says, he had Charge from me to call for an Account of not reading this Book, both in my Province at my Visitation, and in my Diocese. His Majesty having commanded this, I could do little, if I had not so much as enquir'd what was done: And for my Province, he confesses he gave time to them which had not read it, and then never ask'd more after it; so there was no eager Persecution.

Neal, *Ibid.* And that he gave Order to suspend the three following Kentish Ministers by Name, viz. *Mr. Player, Mr. Hieron, and Mr. Culmer*, whereupon he did against his Judgment suspend them all, ab Officio & Beneficio; though the King's Declaration, as is observ'd, does not oblige the Minister to read it. Their Suspension continu'd till the beginning of the Com-motions in Scotland, to the Ruin of their poor Families; *Mr. Culmer* having a Wife and seven Children to provide for.

Anthony Wood's Account of *Culmer* is this: † That he was a bitter Enemy to Archbishop *Laud*, to the Cathedral of *Canterbury*, and to all the Prelatical Party, in the beginning of the Rebellion, rais'd and carried on by the disaffected Party. About that time he became Minister of *Harbledown* in *Kent*, and, if I mistake not, Vicar of *St. Stephen's* near to *Canterbury*, in the place of *Mr.*

* Trial and Troubles, p. 343.

† *Wood's Athen. Oxon.* Vol. I. p. 863.

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John Gouge, ejected thence for refusing the Covenants. And lest he should not be esteem'd as zealous a Brother for the Cause, as any then in being, he publish'd a most vile Pamphlet, entitled, *Cathedral News: or Dean and Chapter News from Canterbury*. London, 1644. qu. In which, heaping up all that he could rake together against the Cathedral of *Canterbury*, Archbishop, Dean, Canons, and other Officers belonging thereunto; had immediately two Answers from *Oxford*, one in a Pamphlet, entitled, *The razing of the Record*, &c. *Oxon.* 1644. and in another, *Antidotum Culmerianum: or, Animadversions upon a late Pamphlet*, entitled, *Cathedral News from Canterbury*, &c. *Oxon.* 1644. qu. in five Sheets. In which last is set down many Actions of *Culmer's* Life, his Demeanour while he was in the University of *Cambridge*, and in the Country; his Refractoriness, Impudence, Covetousness, Unnaturalness, &c. and what not, that the Author thereof, who was a most generous Loyalist, and who knew him, could put together, to display him to the World, &c. After the King's Restoration, he continu'd so zealous in his Opinion, as to engage (for so it was notoriously suspected) in that hellish Plot, for which *Thomas Venner*, *Roger Hodgkin*, &c. Anabaptists and Fifth-Monarchy-Men, suffer'd in *Coleman-Street*, in *London*, Jan. 9. 1660. But the Spirit of the Man being as well known as his Face; he was taken positing up from *Canterbury* to *London*, riding upon *Chartham Hill*. Whereupon being committed for a time, he among several Examinations was ask'd, why he broke down those famous Windows of *Christ-Church* in *Canterbury*; to which he answer'd, *He did it by Order of Parliament*. And being ask'd, why in one Window, (which represented the Devil tempting our Savi-

' our) he brake down Christ, and left the Devil
 ' standing? he answer'd, *He had an Order to take*
 ' *down Christ, but had no Order to take down the*
 ' *Devil.* Whereby was understood, that those
 ' plotting Brethren did mean, when they set up
 ' King *Jesus*, to pull down *Christ*. This *Richard*
 ' *Culmer*, who was commonly call'd in *Kent*, *Blue*
 ' *Dick of Thanet*, because he wore *Blue* in opposi-
 ' tion to *Black*, which he hated, lived several Years
 ' after; but dying (but when, I know not) was bu-
 ' ried in the Parish-Church of *Monkton* in the said
 ' Isle of *Thanet*.' If we add to this, *Mr. Wharton's*
 Character of him, in his Note upon Archbishop
Laud's Trial and Troubles (p. 344.) we shall see
 what small Reason *Mr. Neal* had to defend him.
 ' This *Mr. Culmer* (says he) not only piss'd in the
 ' Church of *Canterbury*, but also demolished the
 ' noble Glas-Windows of it, with his own hands.
 ' The like he did in the Parish-Church of *Minster*
 ' in *Thanet*, which *Benefice* he usurp'd during the
 ' Rebellion. I have had more particular Oppor-
 ' tunities of being inform'd concerning him, of
 ' many now alive, who knew him well, and upon
 ' the whole, I think him one of the greatest Vil-
 ' lains in the three Kingdoms. *H. W.*'

We meet with a very bad Character of this *Cul-*
mer, from the Reverend *Mr. Lewis* of *Margate* in
Kent, in *Dr. Calamy's Continuation of ejected Mini-*
sters, (p. 554.) and but a slender Defence of him
 by the Doctor; who would have defended him sure
 in a better manner, had he deserv'd it.

Neal, Ibid. *Mr. Thomas Wilson* of *Otham*, be-
 ing sent for to *Lambeth*, and ask'd, whether he had
 read the *Book of Sports* in his Church, answer'd no;
 whereupon the Archbishop replied immediately, I sus-
 pend you for ever from your Office and *Benefice*, till
 you read it; and so he continued four Years, being
 cited

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cited into the High Commission, and articted against for the same Crime.

The Archbishop in answer to this, says, * ‘ That his Livings being sequester’d almost four Years, was not, for not reading this Book ; for himself confesses it was done in the High Commission, and that for Dilapidations, in not repairing his House.’

Neal, p. 253. The Reverend and Learned Mr. Laurence Snelling, Rector of Paul’s Cray, was not only suspended by the High Commission at Lambeth, for four Years, but deprived and excommunicated for not reading the Declaration.

In the Sentence in the *High Commission* against Mr. *Snelling*, it is said, † ‘ That within the time articulate, he hath diverse times omitted to read the Litany, and some other parts of Divine Service, and to wear the Surplice : and further, that he hath not bowed his Body, nor made any Corporal Obeysance at the reading, or hearing read the Blessed Name of our Saviour *Jesus*.’ And the Archbishop observes, ‡ ‘ That what was done against this Man, was openly in the High-Commission Court, where he was censur’d for other Things as well as this ; and that himself confess’d his own Refusal to bow at the Name of *Jesus*, tho’ the Canon of the Church commands it : That he kept him off from being sentenced a long time, and when he was sentenced, he confess’d the Archbishop was not present.’

Neal, Ibid. In the Prayer for the Fifth of November were these Words, “ Root out that Antichristian and Babylonish Sect, which say of Jerusalem, Down with it even to the Ground ; cut off those Workers of Iniquity ; whose Religion is Rebellion ; whose Faith is Faction ; whose Practice is

* Trial and Troubles, p. 344.

† *Rushworth*, Vol. II. Part II. p. 461.

‡ Trial and Troubles, p. 344.

"murdering both Soul and Body;" which in the last Edition are thus changed: "Root out the Anti-christian and Babylonish Sect of them, which say of Jerusalem, Down with it, cut off those Workers of Iniquity, who turn Religion into Rebellion, &c."

This Objection Mr. Neal is so fond of, that he has thought it worth repeating in a late * Sermon at Salter's-Hall, against Popery. And admitting the Alteration to be as he has given it us, (in which the Author he quotes will by no means bear him out; Mr. Pryn in the Place referr'd to, saying no more than this, † 'That he alter'd, and purg'd the Book for Gunpowder Treason, and the Publick Fast, in favour of Papists,' without instancing in particulars;) so short-sighted am I, that I can't find the Alteration to be so considerable, as reasonably to have occasioned so great an Outcry from Mr. Neal. And the Archbishop has fully clear'd himself in this particular, by informing us, ‡ 'That the Alterations were made either by the King himself, or some other about him, when he was not at Court.'

Neal, p. 255. *The Puritans always excepted against bowing at the Name of Jesus.*

And what if they did? The Foreign Reformers, several of them, allow'd of it, and gave their Reasons for so doing. The learned † Zanchy differ'd much from our Puritans in this respect. And ** Peter Martyr says a Thing, that will justify it. For

* Mr. Daniel Neal's Sermon, Jan. 23, 1734-5. entitled, The Supremacy of St. Peter, and the Bishops of Rome, considered. p. 40.

† Pryn's *Canterbury's Doom*, p. 112.

‡ Troubles and Trial, p. 357.

† Zanchii Com. in Philip. 2. 10. To. 6. Op. p. 128. *Atque hinc non dubito, quin profecta sit illa Antiquissima Consuetudo in Ecclesiis, ut cum nominatur Jesus, omnes aperiant Caput in Testimonium Reverentia, & Adorationis.*

** Bingham's *French Churches Apology*, p. 276.

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he tells us, ' That it is a pious Custom of some, to bow the Knee, and worship, whenever they hear those Words of St. *John*, *The Word was made Flesh*; and we cannot, nor ought not to say, they worship the bare Words, but the Person signified thereby.' Mr. *Durel*, in his Review of the Government of the Reformed Churches (p. 34.) informs us, ' That the Churches of *Lithuania*, and *Polonia*, where they wear their Hats at Sermon, always put them off at the Name of *Jesus*; and the Women, if sitting, bow down their Heads; and if they stand, they make a Curtesy. The Reformed Churches of *Bremen* do the like, and the same Reverence was made use of by a great many in the *Palatinate*, tho' not by all, as appears by the *Palgrave's* Declaration at *Laudun* 1637. And for a further Defence of the Churches Practice, I refer to the Authorities cited in the * Margin.'

Neal, Ibid. It appear'd to them very Superstitious, as if Worship was to be paid to a Name, or the Name of *Jesus*, more than to that of *Christ* or *Immanuel*.

† Mr. *Bingham* has fully answer'd this: ' Some ask us (says he) why the Church enjoins bowing at the Name of *Jesus*, and not as well at the Name of *Christ*, or *God*, or the Holy Ghost, &c. To which I answer, if there were no other Reason to be given for this, but only the Custom of the Church of *God*, that were sufficient in this Case: But if we look to the first Rise and Original of the Custom, a much more rational Account may be given of the Reason of this diffe-

* Canon 18, 1603. Injunction 52d of Queen *Elizabeth*. *Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity*, Book v. Sect. 30. *Stillingfleet's Unreasonableness of Separation*, 2d Vol. of his Works, Folio, p. 633, 634, 635.

† *Bingham's French Churches Apology for the Church of England*, p. 277.

' rence, which was this: The Name *Jesus* was
 ' become a Name of Reproach among the *Jews*,
 ' they always blasphemed and reviled him by this
 ' Name, terming him by way of Reproach, *Jesus*
 ' the *Magician*, and *Jesus* the *Impostor*; which
 ' Terms of Infamy and Disgrace they endeavour
 ' to fasten on him and propagate not only in *Ju-*
 ' *dæa*, but over all the World: For *Justin Martyr*
 ' tells us, in his Dialogue with *Trypho*, that imme-
 ' diately after our Saviour's Death, they sent forth
 ' their Apostles and Emissaries from *Jerusalem*, to
 ' all the Synagogues in the World, to tell them,
 ' there was a certain Impious, Lawless Sect, risen
 ' up under one *Jesus* a *Galilean Impostor*. So that
 ' the Name *Jesus* was become a Name of Infa-
 ' my among the *Jews*; whereas the Name of
 ' *Messias*, or *Christ* and *God*, and *Holy Ghost*, were
 ' always Names of Respect and Honour among
 ' them. For this reason, the Church of *Christ*, to
 ' do a peculiar Honour to their Lord, took up
 ' this decent Custom of expressing their Respect to
 ' him, at the mention of that very Name, by
 ' which the *Jews* blasphemed and reviled him; to
 ' shew, that that *Jesus* whom they hated and re-
 ' proach'd, was honour'd by them as their Lord
 ' and *Christ*.'

Neal, p. 257. They (viz. the Puritans) urged the
 Rubrick in the Common-Prayer-Book; that *Altars* in
 Churches were a Popish Invention, and of no greater
 Antiquity in the Christian Church, than the Sacrifice
 of the *Moss*, and insisted strenuously on the Disconti-
 nuance of them since the Reformation.

In one of King *Edward's* Injunctions 1547,
 ' Two Lights are order'd to be set upon the *Holy*
 ' *Altar*, before the *Sacrament*.' And in another,
 the *Sacrament* is call'd, the *Sacrament* of the
Holy Altar. And in the Rubrick of King *Edward*
VI's first Book, it is directed, that the Priest stand-
 ing

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ing afore the middes of the Altar, shall say the Lord's-Prayer, &c.

And as to the Antiquity of the Word *Altar*, the late learned Mr. *Johnson* * informs us, ' That *Altar* was the Name, by which the Holy Board was constantly distinguish'd for 300 Years after Christ; during which Time, it does not appear, that it was ever above once call'd a *Table*: and that was in a Letter from *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, to *Xystus* of *Rome*. And when, in the Fourth Century, *Athanasius* call'd it a *Table*, he thought himself oblig'd to explain the Word, and let the Reader know, that by *Table* he meant *Altar*, that being the constant and familiar Name.' For a further Defence of which, I refer the Reader to the † Margin.

Neal, p. 258. The Court Clergy were vehemently suspected of an Inclination to Popery, because of their superstitious bowing to the Altar, not only at the time of Divine Service, but at their going in and out of the Church; this was a Practice unknown to the Laity of the Church of England, before this time: but Archbishop *Laud* introduc'd it into the Royal Chappel at Whitehall, and recommended it to all the Clergy by his Example; for when he went in and out of the Chappel, a Lane was always made to see the Altar, and do Reverence to it.

Archbishop *Laud* defends his Practice very well in his Speech in the Star-Chamber, at the Trial of *Bastwick*, *Burton*, and *Pryn*. || ' God forbid (says he) that we should worship any Thing but God himself: For if to worship, when we enter into his House, or approach his Altar, be an Innova-

* *Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice*, Vol. I. p. 300.

† Dr. *Pocklington's Altare Christianum*, printed 1637. Dr. *Heylin's Coal from the Altar*, 1636. And his *Antidotum Lincolnienſe*, 1637.

|| Archbishop *Laud's Remains*, Vol. II. p. 77, 78.

‘tion, it is a very old one, being practis’d by *Jacob, Moses, and Hezekiah, &c.* And were this Kingdom such, as would allow no Table standing in its proper place; yet would I worship God when I came into his House.’ And afterwards, he calls it, ‘*doing Reverence* to Almighty God, but towards his Altar; and Idolatry it is not, to worship God towards his Holy Table.’

* ‘After all (says *Collier*) the Archbishop was not singular in placing the Communion-Table, and worshipping towards the Altar: For *Davenant* of *Salisbury*, and *Morton* of *Durham*, two Bishops altogether unsuspected of any Bias towards *Popery*, were of the same Sentiment. For the purpose, there happening a Dispute between the Parson and Churchwardens in *Wiltshire*, about placing the Communion-Table; the Business was referr’d to Bishop *Davenant*, who determin’d in favour of the Incumbent; and by a Decree under his Episcopal Seal, order’d the Table should stand in the place of the Altar. In this Decree, are two remarkable Passages: *First*, That by the Injunctions of Queen *Elizabeth*, and by the 32^d Canon under King *James*, the Communion-Tables should ordinarily be set, and stand with the Side to the *East* Wall of the Chancel. And *Secondly*, That it is Ignorance to think, that the standing of the Table in that place, does resemble of *Popery*.

‘Further, for Adoration towards the Table, Bishop *Morton*’s Testimony is a sufficient Purgation. This *Prelate* in a *Treatise* against the Sacrifice of the *Mass*, founded upon the Belief of Transubstantiation, has these Words: The like difference (says he) may be discerned between their Manner of Reverence, in their bowing towards

* *Collier*, p. 762. Archbishop’s Speech, June, 16. 1637.

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the *Altar*, for Adoration of the *Eucharist* only; and ours, in bowing, as well when there is no *Eucharist* on the Table, as when there is; which is not to the Table of the Lord, but to the Lord of the Table; to testify the Communion of all the faithful Communicants therewith, even as the People of God did, in adoring him before the Ark of his Footstool. *Psalm xcix.*

Neal, *Ibid.* *All his Majesty's Chaplains, and even the Common People, were enjoin'd the same Practice.*

One of the Canons of 1640, (*viz.* Canon 7.) explains the Church's Sense in this particular, and shews that the People were then left at their liberty, and that no Worship was design'd to be paid to the Altar.

Whereas the Church is the House of God, dedicated to his Holy Worship, and therefore ought to mind us both of the Greatness and Goodness of his Divine Majesty; certain it is, that the Acknowledgment thereof, not only inwardly in our Hearts, but outwardly in our Bodies, must needs be pious in itself, profitable unto us, and commended to all good, and well-affected People, Members of this Church; that they be ready to render unto the Lord the said Acknowledgment, by their doing Reverence and Obeisance, both at their coming in and going out of the said Churches, Chancels, or Chappels, according to the most ancient Custom of the Primitive Church, in the purest Times; and of the Church also for many Years in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. The reviving of this ancient and laudable Custom, we, not with any intent to exhibit any Religious Worship to the Communion-Table, the *East*, or the Church, or any Thing therein contain'd in so doing, or to perform the said Gesture in the Celebration of
the

‘ the Holy Eucharist, upon any Opinion of the
 ‘ Corporal Presence of Jesus Christ on the Holy
 ‘ Table, or the Mystical Elements ; but only for
 ‘ the Advancement of God’s Majesty, and to give
 ‘ him that Honour and Glory, which is due unto
 ‘ him, and no otherwise. And in the Practice or
 ‘ Omission of this Rite, we desire, that the Rule
 ‘ of Charity prescribed by the Apostle may be ob-
 ‘ serv’d; which is, that they which use this Rite, de-
 ‘ spise not them which use it not ; and that they
 ‘ who use it not, condemn not those that use it.’

This Practice of bowing towards the *East*; is well defended by several of the * Fathers, and some of the best of our † Modern Writers.

Neal, p. 260. *The Lecturers, or Afternoon Preachers, giving his Grace some disturbance; the King sent the following Injunctions to the Bishops of his Province; 1st, That they ordain no Clergyman without a Presentation to some Living; or 2. Without a Certificate, that he is provided of some void Church; or 3. Without some Place in a Cathedral or Collegiate Church; or 4. Unless he be Fellow of some College; or 5. A Master of Arts of five Years standing, living at his own Charge; or 6. Without the Intention of the Bishop to provide for him.*

These are all Canonical Qualifications requir’d by the 33d Canon of 1603. ‘ We do ordain, that
 ‘ henceforth no Person shall be admitted into Sacred
 ‘ Orders, except he shall at that time exhibit to
 ‘ the Bishop, of whom he desireth Imposition of

* *Clemens Alexandrin. Stromat. Lib. 7. p. 856. Tertullian. Apologet. cap. xvi. Augustin. de Sermone Domini in Monte, Lib. 7. cap. v. Epiphani. Hæres. Lib. 1. cap. xix.*

† *Dr. Boys upon the Epiphany, Works, p. 631. Mede on Psalm cxxxii. 7. Diatrib. Part. 4. p. 264. Ed. 2. 4to. Serm. on Ecclef. i. 5. Gregory’s Works, Part 2. p. 73. in Zach. vi. 12. Thorndike’s Religious Assemblies, p. 231. Stillingfleet’s Ecclesiastical Cases, Works, Vol. III. p. 710. Wheatley’s Rational Illustration, Folio, p. 91.*

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Hands, a Presentation of himself to some Ecclesiastical Preferment, then void in that Dioceſe; or ſhall bring to the ſaid Biſhop a true Certificate, that either he is provided of ſome Church within the ſaid Dioceſe, where he may attend the Care of Souls, or ſome Miniſter's Place vacant, either in the Cathedral Church of that Dioceſe, or in ſome other Collegiate Church, therein alſo ſituate, where he may execute his Miniſtry; or that he is a Fellow, or in Right as a Fellow, or to be Conductor or Chaplain in ſome College in *Cambridge* or *Oxford*; or except he be Maſter of Arts of five Years ſtanding, that liveth of his own Charge in either of the Universities; or except by the Biſhop himſelf that doth ordain him Miniſter, he ſhall be ſhortly admitted either to ſome Benefice or Curateſhip then void. And if any Biſhop ſhall admit any Perſon into the Miniſtry, that hath none of theſe Titles, as is aforeſaid; then he ſhall keep or maintain him with all Things neceſſary till he do prefer him to ſome Eccleſiaſtical Living. And if the ſaid Biſhop ſhall reſuſe ſo to do, he ſhall be ſuſpended by the Archbiſhop, being aſſiſted with another Biſhop, from giving Orders by the ſpace of a Year.'

So that it is plain, that none of theſe Injunctions were new; but only an Enforcement of the *Canon*.

Neal, Ibid. By virtue of theſe Injunctions, no Chaplainſhip to a Nobleman's Family, nor any Invitation to a Lecture, could qualify a Perſon for Ordination without a Living.

It was not by virtue of theſe Injunctions only, but by virtue of the *Canon*; in which, neither of theſe are mention'd as Qualifications for Orders.

And it appears plain from the Words of the *Canon*, that if a Biſhop had ordain'd upon ſuch a Title, he muſt have provided for the Perſon ſo ordain'd,

or

or have been liable to a Year's Suspension from giving Orders.

* The Observance of this Canon (says the Right Reverend the Bishop of *London*) of 1603, (or rather of the Common Law of the Church, of which this Canon is only an Affirmance) was specially enforced upon the Bishops by his Majesty King *Charles I.* and by Archbishop *Laud*, upon this Pain or Penalty, of maintaining the Person if they did. And it is much to be wish'd, that the Laws of the Church in this particular were strictly executed, especially in the Case of Titles to Temporary Cures, (if such are really comprehended or allowed in this Canon;) and that the Persons who grant such Titles, were made more sensible of the Consequence of what they do, and their Names enter'd in the Acts of Ordination, as standing engaged; which in ancient Times was punctually done, as a Testimony against the Person entitling, in case the Clerk (ordain'd upon such a Title) should at any time want convenient Maintenance. The Scandal and Inconveniences of many kinds, which accrue to the Church by multiplying the numbers of Clergymen, so far beyond the number of Benefices, (and that chiefly by means of the Titles we are now speaking of) seem to deserve Consideration, and to call for a speedy and effectual Remedy.*

Neal, Ibid. In the annual Account the Archbishop gave the King of the State of his Province this Year, we may observe how much suppressing of these popular Preachers lay upon his Mind. " The Bishop of Bath and Wells (says his Grace) has taken a great deal of pains in his late Visitation, to have all the King's Instructions observ'd, and particularly he has put down several Lecturers in Market-Towns, who

* Bishop *Gibson's* Codex, p. 162.

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“ were benefited in other Dioceses; because he found
“ when they preach'd factious [and disorderly; omit-
“ ted] Sermons, they retir'd without the Reach of
“ his Jurisdiction.”

I thought Mr. Neal had been an Enemy to Non-Residence; if he had, he would have commended the Bishop for this.

What follows in the Archbishop's Account, is omitted by Mr. Neal, for what Reason he best knows.

* [“ His Lordship has likewise sent up a List of
“ Romish Recusants, which were presented at his
“ last Visitation, which he saith are for the most
“ part but of mean Condition; and those not many,
“ considering the Greatness of the County.”]

Neal, p. 261. “ The Bishop of Peterborough [it
“ should be Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, Trial
“ and Troubles, p. 527.] had suppress'd a seditious
“ Lecture at Repon, and put down several monthly
“ Lectures, kept with a Fast, and managed by a Mo-
“ derator. He had also suppress'd a Meeting call'd a
“ Running Lecture, because the Lecture went from
“ Village to Village. † [And at the end of the
“ Week, proclaim'd where they should have him
“ next, that his Disciples might follow: They
“ say this Lecture was ordain'd to illuminate the
“ dark Corners of that Diocese. Omitted by Neal.]
“ The King's Note upon it; C. R. if there be dark
“ Corners in this Diocese, it were fit a true Light
“ should illuminate it, and not this that is false and
“ uncertain.”

Neal, Ibid. “ All the Bishops declare, that they
“ take special Care of the Branch of his Majesty's
“ Instructions, relating to Calvinism or the Predesti-
“ narian Points.” || The Words, “ All the Bi-
“ shops above-mention'd, (which are all that have

* Land's Trial and Troubles, p. 526.

† Trial and Troubles, p. 527.

|| Ib. p. 528.

“ yet

“ yet certified) do agree, that all Things in your
 “ Sacred Majesty's Instructions contain'd, are care-
 “ fully observ'd, and particularly that of avoiding
 “ factious meddling with the prohibited Questions.”

Neal, p. 262. *Towards the close of this Year came on the famous Trial of William Pryn Esq; Barrister of Lincoln's-Inn, for his Histriomastix, a Book written against Plays, Masques, Dancing, &c. The Information says, That though the Author knew that the Queen and Lords of the Council were frequently present at those Diversions, yet he had rail'd against these and several other, as May-Poles, Christmàs-keeping, dressing Houses with Ivy, Festivals, &c. Rushworth, Part II. p. 221.*

* Then follows, [omitted by *Mr. Neal*.] [“ And
 “ to manifest his evil and mischievous Design in
 “ publishing of this Libel, he hath therein written
 “ divers Incitements to stir up the People to Discon-
 “ tent, as if there were just Cause to lay violent
 “ hands on the Prince.”

† “ Besides the Misdemeanours, for which he
 “ was prosecuted in the *Star-Chamber*; Attorney-
 “ General *Noy* cites several scandalous Passages in
 “ his Book, of which the Information took no no-
 “ tice, &c. To mention somewhat of this Part of
 “ *Pryn's* Invective; he throws a general Censure
 “ upon the Bishops and Clergy, falls upon them for
 “ making an over-expensive and foreign Figure, and
 “ taxes them with scorning to feed the Poor; he
 “ complains of cringing and ducking to new-erec-
 “ ted Altars, and of dedicating *St. Paul's* to *Diana*.
 “ He goes on in this coarse way of Rallying, calls
 “ the Church-Musick a bleating of brute Beasts;
 “ Choristers (says he) bellow the Tenour as if they
 “ were Oxen; bark a Counterpoint, like a Kennel

* *Rushworth*, p. 221.

† *Collier*, p. 761. *Rushworth*, Part II. p. 232, *alias* 223.

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of Dogs; roar a Treble, as if they were Bulls;
and grunt out a Base, like a parcel of Hogs.'

Neal, Ibid. *The Council for the Defendant argu'd, that he had banded the Argument of Stage-Plays in a learned manner, without designing to reflect upon his Superiours.*

He writes in this Book, *Histrionastix*, * 'That our English Ladies, shorn and frizled Madams, have lost their Modesty; that the Devil is only honour'd in Dancing; that Plays are the chief Delight of the Devil; that they that frequent Plays are damn'd, and so are all, that do not concur with him in his Opinion, Whores, Panders, foul incarnate Devils, Judas's to their Lord and Master, &c. Princes dancing in their own Persons, his Censure is infamous of them, &c. But the worst of all is, that this was the occasion of untimely Ends in Princes.'

Neal, p. 263. *A few Months after, Dr. Bastwick Physician at Colchester, having writ a Book, call'd Clenchus Religionis Papisticæ, with an Appendix, all'd, Flagellum Pontificis, & Episcoporum Lacerantium; which gave Offence to the English Bishops, because it denied the Divine Right of Bishops above Presbyters; was cited before the High-Commission, who discarded him from his Profession, excommunicated him, fined him One Thousand Pounds, and Imprisonment till he recanted.*

These were (I think) two distinct Books, tho' mention'd by Neal as one. I have the 2d Edition of the *Flagellum*, Printed 1641, with some Letters at the End, containing 154 Pages, *Duodecimo*. † In this Epistle Dedicatory to the King and Parliament,

he

* Lord Cottington's Sentence upon Mr. Pryn. *Rushworth* art II. p. 232. See Lord Clarendon's Character of him, Vol. I. 158.

† Ep. Ded. p. 3. 'Unus enim mihi primo exitium, mox sibi peperit Wilhelmus Laud, Cantuaria Pontifex, qui obsecu-
L ris

he casts such Reflections upon the Archbishop, as in some measure might justify his Imprisonment and Fine, if they had inflicted no greater Punishment. The Severity of his Sentence, I am far from justifying; but the Books mention'd by Mr. Neal, were not the Books, for which he was sentenc'd to lose his Ears. The Book for which he suffer'd, was entitl'd, * *Apologeticus ad Præsules Anglicanos, Criminum Ecclesiasticorum, in Curia Celsæ Commissionis, Autore Johanne Bastwick, M. D. &c. Anno 1636. Printed beyond Sea.* Which appears very plain from his Answer to the Lords in the Star-Chamber: † 'The Lord-Keeper then repli-

' ed, Dr. Bastwick, do you acknowledge the Apo-

' logy ad Præsules Anglicanos, and the Sentences

' read in it to be your own? My Lord, I acknow-

' ledge but part of it to be mine. For after it was

' out of my hands, and gone beyond the Seas,

' some Man added something of his, which I will

' not father, amongst the which, is one of the Sen-

' tences allieg'd against me: and I presume, your

' Honours will not condemn me for another Man's

' Act.' Lord Clarendon gives this Character of

' ris Initii, Impudentibus Ausis, & quovis facinore inclarescere

' properus, tantæ Insulæ dignitatem propolluit: at Querelarum

' quantulacunque pars Mea est? Omnis Ordo, omnis Sexus,

' omnis Ætas publicâ Voce Convitium facit Superbiæ, & Cru-

' delitatis Homuncionis. Cui enim pepercit? Quam non attri-

' vit Sesiipedalis Ille Tyrannulus, & summam Felicitatem no-

' cendi sine determinans? Quid Ego referam viduatas suis Pa-

' storibus Ecclesias? Impletas Fugitivis fidelibus longinquas

' Solitudines, &c. Vidimus Exautoratam Religionem, pro-

' scripam Pietatem, & Triumphantem in Profanorum agmine

' Superstitionem. O quam parvis veniunt summa Mala Principi-

' piis! Hic omnium omnibus rebus facile infimus, de cujus

' Origine vera exequi pudet, quem nascentem circumsteterit

' paternæ Sordes, & Angustia.'

* Penes Rev. Tho. Baker, S. T. B.

† New Discovery of the Prelates Tyranny in their late Pro-
secution of Mr. William Pryn, Dr. John Bastwick, and Mr.
Henry Burton, Printed at London for M.S. 1641. p. 19. Penes
Rev. T. Baker.

him :

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him : ‡ ‘ That he was a half-witted, crack-brain’d
‘ Fellow, unknown to either of the Universities,
‘ or the College of Physicians.’ And that the first
part of this Character is true, is plain from his Wri-
tings, a Specimen of which has been already pro-
duced, and much worse may be met with in his
Litanys ; his Letters to Mr. *Aquila Wycks*, Keeper
of the *Gatehouse*, and his Answer to the Informa-
tion against him, by Sir *John Banks*, printed 1637,
p. 19. In his Letter to Mr. *Aquila Wycks*, Decem-
ber 8. 1636, he has the following Words : * ‘ And
‘ if you see *Father William of Canterbury his Holi-
‘ nefs*, and *William of London, Magnificus Rector
‘ of the Treasury*; my Wife desires they would be
‘ Godfathers to her Child, and if you can obtain
‘ this Favour at their hands at her behalf, I am
‘ almost confident I can prevail with their old Mi-
‘ strefs the *Whore of Babylon*, to be Godmother,
‘ with whom they have so long committed Spiri-
‘ tual Fornication ; and then we shall have such a
‘ Christening, as has not been in *Europe* this many
‘ a blessed Day.

† ‘ If we look, says he, upon the Lives, Actions,
‘ and Manners of the Priests and Prelates of this
‘ Age, and see their Pride, Fast, Impudence, Pro-
‘ faneness, Unmercifulness, Ungodliness, &c. one
‘ would think that Hell was broke loose ; and that
‘ the Devils in Surplices, in Hoods, in Copes, in
‘ Rochets, and in four-square Cow-Turds upon
‘ their Heads, had come amongst us, and had be-
‘ shit us all ! Pho, how they stink ! The Priests
‘ are *Secundum Ordinem Diaboli*, a Generation of
‘ Vipers, Proud, Ungrateful, Illiterate Asses : The
‘ Church is as full of Ceremonies, as a Dog is

‡ Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 158.

* *Nelson's Collections*, Vol. I. p. 102.

† Id. Ib.

‘ full of Fleas, the Divine Service is a devised Service, a plaguy deal of Porridge.

* ‘ At the Name of *Jesus*, saith the Text, every
‘ Knee shall bow; and the Prelates, in obedience
‘ to this Command, put their Fingers to their four-
‘ square Cow-Turds, to give him a Nod with their
‘ Heads.’

And again, † ‘ The Priests and Prelates, and
‘ that Fraternity, are the very Pole-Cats, Stotes,
‘ Weazels, and Minevers of the Church and State.’

Neal, *Ibid.* Mr. Burton of Friday-Street, *having publish'd two exceptionable Sermons from Proverbs xxiv. 21, 22. entitled, For God, and the King, against the late Innovations, had his House and Study broke open by a Serjeant at Arms, and himself committed close Prisoner to the Gatehouse, where he was confined several Years.*

Had this been all his Punishment, I cannot think it would have exceeded his Crime. For these two *exceptionable Sermons* consist of 164 Pages in Quarto, beside the Dedication to the King; and may be number'd amongst the most virulent Libels of those Times, as the Reader may be convinced from the Perusal of those choice Discourses. He indeed flourishes upon the Character of the King, but it is in the way of *Sneer* and *Irony*; and was I to draw out all the *exceptionable* Passages, they would make a small Volume: so that I shall content myself with two or three Paragraphs, which are far from being the most *exceptionable* ones in those Sermons.

|| ‘ For these Mother Churches, to which all
‘ Daughter Churches must conform, are they not the

* Second Part of his Litany, p. 23.

† Third Part of *Bastwick's* Litany, 1637. p. 1.

|| For God, and the King. The Summe of two Sermons, preach'd on the Fifth of November, in *St. Matthew's, Friday-Street*, 1636. By *Henry Burton*, p. 159. *Penes Rev. Tho. Baker, S. T. B.*

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natural Daughters of *Rome*? Do they not from Top to Toe exactly resemble her? Her pompous Service, her Altars, Palls, Copes, Crucifixes, Images, Superstitious Gestures, and Postures, all Instruments of Musick, (as at the Dedication of the King of *Babylon's* Image) long *Babylonish* Service, so bel- lowed and warbled out, as the Hearers are but little the wiser. Are not these High Places also, the Receptacles and Nurseries of a Number of Idle Bellies, to say no worse? Do not the fat Pre- bends so cram their Residentiaries, that the while, their starving Flocks in the Country do famish for want of Spiritual Food. He * calls the Bi- shops, usurping *Antichristian* Mushrooms; and in another place expresses himself as follows. † I confess, were it a Law in *England*, as it was once amongst the *Locrians*, that whosoever would propound a New Law, should come with a Hal- ter about his Neck, that if it pleas'd not the Se- nate, the Hangman was ready to do his Office: And if the Opportunity serv'd, I should come with an Halter about my Neck, with this Pro- position; That it would please the great Senate of this Land, to take into their sad Consideration, whether upon such woful Experience, it were not both more honourable for the King, and more safe for his Kingdom, and more conducing to God's Glory, and more consistent with *Chri- stian* Liberty, and more to the Advancement of Christ's Kingdom, which by *Usurping Prelates* is trodden down, that the *Lordly Prelacy* were turn'd into such a Godly Government, as might suit better with God's Word, and Christ's sweet Yoak.' In another Place he quotes *Tertullian* in the follow- ing manner: || ' But, says he, what need I speak

* *Ib.* p. 83.

† *Ib.* p. 110.

|| *Ib.* p. 91.

‘ more of the *Christian Religion* and Piety towards
 ‘ the Emperor? whom we must of Necessity ho-
 ‘ nour, as him whom our Lord hath chosen, that
 ‘ I may truly say, he is the more our *Cæsar*, as he
 ‘ is appointed of our God; therefore being mine,
 ‘ I do therefore more labour for his Safety: So we
 ‘ also, and so may all true *Christians* triumph, and
 ‘ make a holy Boast against all *Jesuitical Sycophants*,
 ‘ that do traduce them to Kings and Princes, as En-
 ‘ mies to their Government. What one Protestant
 ‘ can they bring, that ever committed Treason a-
 ‘ gainst the King, or lifted up a Hand against his
 ‘ sacred Person.’ Little sure did this *Conscientious*
 Man dream at that time, that King *Charles’s* Head
 should be cut off in a few Years, by the Hands of
 his *Independent* * Brethren.

The next Passage I shall mention, is what Dr.
Heylin takes notice of. † ‘ How will our New
 ‘ Masters, our Innovators make good the bringing
 ‘ of these Things a-fresh into Cathedrals, and for-
 ‘ cing all petty Churches to conform thereunto?
 ‘ Would the Prelates thus make the Mother Cath-
 ‘ drals (thus by themselves made, and adopted
 ‘ *Rome’s* Daughters) their Concubines, whereon
 ‘ to beget a new Bastard Generation of Sacrificing
 ‘ Idolatrous Mass-Priests throughout the Land,
 ‘ which our good Laws, and all our Learned Pi-
 ‘ ous Divines have proclaim’d Illegitimate?’ More
 of this foul Stuff (says *Heylin*) might be found else-
 where, but I hate the raking into such dirty Puddles.

* *Jan. 7. 1647. Henry Burton*, the Independent Minister, bur-
 ric^d. *Mr. Richard Smith’s* Obituary. Penes Rev. *Tho. Baker*.
 And he was in that way of Thinking so early as 1641, as ap-
 pears from a Sermon before the Parliament, entitled, *England’s*
 Bondage and Hopes of Deliverance, p. 23. And in 1644, he
 wrote a Vindication of the Churches, commonly call’d *Inde-*
pendent.

† Sermon. p. 163. *Heylin’s* Cyprian. Anglic. p. 277.

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And Mr. Collier informs us, * That in that very Sermon he makes a Tragical Complaint of Persecution in the Counties of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*: That in those Counties, (where *Wrenn* was now Bishop) they had made the greatest Havock of good Ministers, that had been known within the Memory of Man; that *Threescore* were already suspended in that single Diocese: And by *Christmas* next, betwixt Three and Fourscore more, must either take leave of a good Conscience, or else be thrown out of their Function and Subsistence. And lastly, that in all Queen *Mary's* Reign, the faithful Ministers of Christ were not harass'd to this degree, in so short a time, in any Diocese, or in the whole Kingdom. *Wrenn*, to wipe off this Calumny, and rescue himself from so ugly an Imputation, order'd his Registers to be examined: And upon inspecting the Records of his Court, it was found, there were not above Thirty Clergymen, Lecturers included, that lay under any sort of Ecclesiastical Censure. That of these, Sixteen were suspended; and of these Sixteen, Eight had their Restraints discharged, and were refer'd to further time of Trial. *Burton's* Clamour of Persecution might be disprov'd through several other Particulars: But this may be sufficient to discover what Credit is to be given to this Reporter.* These two Sermons were answer'd by † Dr. Heylin.

But to shew how worthy this Divine (who already has been prov'd guilty of *Leasing*) was of

* Collier, p. 771. *Burton's* Sermon, entitled, For God, and the King, p. 65.

† A brief and moderate Answer, to the Seditious, and Scandalous Challenges of Henry Burton, late of Friday-Street; in the two Sermons preach'd by him on the 5th of November; and in his Apology prefix'd before them. By Peter Heylin, London, 1637. Penes me.

Mr. Neal's Defence, I shall beg leave to add Lord Clarendon's Account of him ; who informs us, *
 ' That having committed two or three saucy Indiscretions, as caus'd an Inhibition to be sent him, that he should not presume to come any more to Court ; from that time he resolv'd to revenge himself of the Bishop of *Durham*, (who was made Closet-Keeper to the King, a Place he expected) and upon the whole Order. And so turn'd Lecturer, and preach'd against them ; being endu'd with Malice and Boldness, instead of Learning and any tolerable Parts.'

This Gentleman preach'd another Scandalous (or, in Mr. Neal's Style, *exceptionable Sermon*) before the Parliament 1641. entitled, † *Jesu Worship confuted* ; which gave no small Offence. And a second the same Year, call'd, || *England's Bondage, and Hope of Deliverance*.

Neal, p. 265. Dr. William Ames educated at Cambridge, under the famous Mr. Perkins, fled from the Persecution of Archbishop Bancroft ; and became Minister of the English Church at the Hague ; from whence he was invited by the States of Friesland, to the Divinity Chair in the University of Franeker, which he filled with universal Reputation for Twelve Years.

‡ William Ames, (says Fuller) Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, had (to use his own Expression) the Place of a Watchman for an Hour in the Tower of the University, and took occasion to inveigh against the Liberties taken at that time, especially in such Colleges, who had Lords of Misrule, a Pagan Relique, which (he said) as Polydore Virgil observeth, remaineth only in Eng-

* Hist. Vol. I. p. 158.

† Penes me.

|| June 20. 1641. Penes me.

‡ Fuller's History of Cambridge, p. 159.

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land. Hence he proceeded to condemn all playing at Cards and Dice, affirming that the latter in all Ages was accounted the Device of the Devil; that as God invented the One and Twenty Letters, whereof he made the Bible; the Devil, saith another, found out the One and Twenty Pricks of the Die; that Canon Law forbade the use thereof, seeing, *Inventio Diaboli nullâ Consuetudine potest validari*. His Sermon gave much Offence to many of his Auditors, the rather, because in him there was a Concurrency of Nonconformity; insomuch that to prevent an Expulsion from Dr. Cary the Master, he fairly forsook the College, which proved to him neither Loss nor Disgrace, being not long after, by the States of Friezland, chosen Professor in their Univerſity.

Neal, p. 270. *To give another Instance of the Archbishop's Disaffection to the Foreign Protestants; the Queen of Bohemia, the King's Sister, solicited the King, in the most pressing manner, to admit of a Publick Collection over England, for the poor persecuted Ministers of the Palatinate who were banish'd their Country for their Religion. Accordingly the King granted them a Brief to go through the Kingdom: But when it was brought to the Archbishop, he excepted against the following Clause, "Whose Cases are the more to be deplored, because this Extremity is fallen upon them, for their Sincerity and Constancy in the true Religion, which we together with them professed, and which we are all bound in Conscience to maintain to the utmost of our power, &c. Ibid. p. 271. Laud having acquainted the King with his Exceptions, they were expunged in another Draught."*

Archbishop Laud's Answer, [Trial and Troubles, p. 376.] 'The fourth Charge (says he) was an Alteration made in a Brief for a third Collection
' for

‘ for the distressed Ministers and others in the *Pa-*
 ‘ *latinate*. The Queen of *Bobemia* was pleas’d to
 ‘ do me the Honour to write to me about this, and
 ‘ because two Collections had been before, her
 ‘ Majesty desired that this Third might only be in
 ‘ *London*, and some few Shires about it. I, out of
 ‘ my desire to relieve those distressed *Protestants*, and
 ‘ to express my Duty to the Queen, became an
 ‘ humble Suitor to his Majesty, that this Collec-
 ‘ tion might also go through *England* as the rest
 ‘ had done.’ An *Impartial* Historian would have
 given us the Archbishop’s Answer, as well as the
 Objections made to his Behaviour on this Occa-
 sion.

There is printed in *Rymer* a Licence for a Collec-
 tion to be made through *England*, for Relief of
 the Ministers of the *Palatinate*, 9th of *April*,
A. D. 1635. 11 *Caroli*; where there is no such
 Clause, as Mr. Neal mentions from *Collier*. The
 Words: * ‘ We taking these Things into our
 ‘ Princely Consideration, and being moved with
 ‘ the Bowels of Compassion towards them, as
 ‘ feeling Members of the same Body, whereof Christ
 ‘ alone is the Head; and being certainly inform’d,
 ‘ that those of the *United Provinces*, and diverse
 ‘ other Protestants of other Places, have bounti-
 ‘ fully contributed towards their Necessities; and
 ‘ being well assur’d that all our loving Subjects of
 ‘ this our Kingdom, who have long enjoy’d a hap-
 ‘ py Peace with Freedom of the Gospel, and have
 ‘ tasted largely of the Comfort thereof, will not
 ‘ be inferior to any in a Work so full of
 ‘ Piety and Charity, towards their distressed Bre-
 ‘ thren; do by these our Letters Patents commend
 ‘ the distressed Estates of these poor Souls, unto
 ‘ the Charity of all the People of this Realm.
 ‘ Know ye therefore, &c.’

* *Rymer's Fœdera*, Vol. XIX. p. 628.

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Neal, p. 274. *In the Archbishop's Metropolitanical Visitation this Summer, Mr. Lee, one of the Prebendaries of Litchfield, was suspended for Churching refractory Women in private.*

And can Mr. Neal be so weak, as to think this an insufficient Cause of Suspension? The Rubricks are the Law of the Church; and * are well known to be part of the *Statute-Law* of the Land; having been confirm'd in Parliament, by the several Acts of Uniformity, in the Reigns of King *Edward VI.* Queen *Elizabeth*, and King *Charles II.* And it is order'd, in the Rubrick before the Office for *Churching of Women*, in King *James's* Review, 'That the Woman shall come into the Church, and there shall kneel down in some convenient Place, nigh unto the Place, where the Table standeth; and the Priest standing by her, shall say these Words, or such like, as the Case shall require.'

Neal, p. 276. *A Proclamation was publish'd, July 21. forbidding all Persons, except Soldiers, Mariners, Merchants, and their Factors, to depart the Kingdom, without his Majesty's Licence. But notwithstanding this Prohibition, many got over into New England this Summer.*

This was not an Offence against the *Proclamation*; the Words of which follow: † 'The King doth command and forbid all his Subjects, that they, nor any of them, other than Soldiers, Mariners, Merchants, and their Factors, and Apprentices, at any Time, without the King's Licence, or of Six of the Privy-Council, depart out of the Kingdom, or any of the King's Dominions, into the Kingdom or Country of any Foreign Prince, State, or Potentate.'

* Preface to Bishop *Gibson's* Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani, p. 10.

† Rymer's *Fœdera*, continued by *Sanderfon*, Vol. XIX. p. 646, *Rushworth*, Part II. p. 298.

Neal,

Neal, p. 277. *The new Scots Bishops were of Bishop Laud's Principles, they spoke favourably of Popery in their Sermons.*

Did Bishop *Laud* ever speak favourably of Popery? If he did, he very much contradicted his own Writings. *Andrew Marvel*, no great Friend to Bishops, gives this Character of him: * 'Arch-
' bishop *Laud*, who, if for nothing else, yet for his
' learned Book against *Fisher*, deserved far another
' Fate than he met with, and ought not now to be
' mention'd without due Honour.' And Bishop
Burnet, tho' he aggravates some of his Failings,
says of him; † 'That he was a learned, a sincere,
' and zealous Man, regular in his own Life, and
' humble in his private Deportment.' And Lord
Clarendon observes, ‖ 'That he was accused of a
' Design to bring in Popery, and of having Cor-
' respondence with the Pope, and such like Parti-
' culars, as the Consciences of his greatest Enemies
' absolved him from. No Man was a greater or
' abler Enemy to Popery; no Man a more resolute
' and devout Son of the Church of England.'

Neal, p. 282. *The Archbishop was no less intent upon enlarging his own Jurisdiction, claiming a Right to visit the two Universities, Jure Metropolitico; which being referred to the King and Council, His Majesty was pleased to give Judgment against himself.*

This Determination of the Council is to be met with in ‡ *Collier*; where the Archbishop's Right is set forth, not as exclusive of the Right of the Crown; for, in the first place, it was acknowledged to be the undoubted Right of the Crown, to visit the said Universities whenever His Majesty

* Rehearsal transposed, Part I. p. 281.

† History of His own Times, p. 49.

‖ Lord *Clarendon's* History, Vol. II. p. 440.

‡ *Collier*, p. 766.

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pleaseth. And, in affirmance of the Archbishop's Right, that actually both Universities had been visited by three of his Predecessors *jure Metropolitico*, and not by any *Legatine* Power. And Mr. Collier observes upon it, ' That this Decision fortified the Archbishop's Character, and made him more regarded in both Universities; even in Cambridge, where his Authority was less, his Measures for Conformity were better pursued.'

Neal, *ibid.* As Chancellor of Oxford, his Grace caused a new Body of Statutes to be drawn up for that University, with a Preface; in which are some severe Reflections on good King Edward, and his Government. It says, That the Discipline of the University was discomposed and troubled by the King's Injunctions, and the flattering Novelty of the Age. It then commends the Reign of his Sister, the bloody Queen Mary, and says, That the Discipline of the Church revived, and flourished again in her Days under Cardinal Poole, when, by a much desired Felicity, an inbred Candour supplied the Defect of the Statutes. Was this spoken like a Protestant Prelate, whose Predecessors in the See of London and Canterbury were burnt at Oxford, by Queen Mary, in a most barbarous manner! or rather like one who was aiming at the Return of those happy Times.

In Mr. Frankland's Annals of King Charles I. a very good Answer is to be met with to Mr. Neal's Objections: * ' In the late Collections of Mr. Rushworth, (says he) p. 324. there is a great and foul Mistake, indeed a notable Falshood, about the Preface before the Statutes for the University of Oxford, as if the Author of the said Preface had vilified the Times of King Edward VI. and mightily commended those of Queen Mary. And great use is made of the same Preface, by the Author of *Patronus Bonæ Fidei*, against Bishop

* P. 472.

' *Laud*, whom he supposes to be the Writer of the
 ' said Preface; thence to prove him to be a Fa-
 ' vourer of *Poper*y, and a Hater of the Reformed
 ' Religion. Now the truth is, that the Writer of
 ' that Preface was Dr. *Peter Turner*, of *Merion Col-*
 ' *lege*, a Doctor of Civil Law. There he gives an
 ' Account of the University Statutes; that before
 ' this late Book of Statutes then set out by the Au-
 ' thority of Archbishop *Laud*, Chancellor of *Ox-*
 ' *ford*, the Students hardly knew what Statutes
 ' they were to be governed by; that the Univer-
 ' sity had lain many Years under the Inconveniency
 ' of that Uncertainty; therefore it had been often
 ' attempted to reform that Abuse in several Kings
 ' Reigns: Under *Henry VIII.* and *Edward VI.*
 ' in whose Time there was a Design to have both
 ' Universities governed by the same Statutes; which
 ' was very pleasing and acceptable, because of the
 ' Newness of the Project; but the King died before
 ' it took place, and the Design died with him.
 ' Then in Queen *Mary's* Time the same Work of
 ' reforming and compiling a Body of Statutes for
 ' the University was again taken in hand, by the
 ' Direction of Cardinal *Poole*, but to as little pur-
 ' pose. And this is all the Preface says of those
 ' Transactions in King *Edward VI.* and Queen
 ' *Mary's* Reigns. After which it adds, That not-
 ' withstanding the said Inconvenience of uncertain
 ' Statutes, the *University* did flourish, and abound
 ' in Men of Learning and good Studies, the inbred
 ' Candour of the Students supplying the Defect of
 ' these uncertain Statutes. Which the *Collector*
 ' takes as said only of Queen *Mary's* Times;
 ' whereas it appears, that it relates to all former
 ' Times, as well as hers, during which, the said
 ' Uncertainty lasted, and put the University to an
 ' Inconvenience.' A further Defence is to be met
 with

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with in the *Weekly Miscellany*, N^o 26. June 9th 1733.

Neal, p. 283. The last and most extravagant Stretch of Power that I shall mention, was the Bishops framing new Articles in their own Names, without the King's Seal and Authority.

* ' In answer to this, the Judges the 14th of May, 1637. unanimously declared, That the Act of Repeal, 1 Edward VI. cap. 2. made in the First of Queen Mary, was still in force; but to strengthen this Security for the Church, and make it serviceable, he [the Archbishop] humbly desired the King, the Case might be put more at length, and that the Resolution of all the Reverend Judges might be taken fuller in form, and published by His Majesty. That by this means the Governors of the Church may proceed more chearfully in their Functions, and the Laity be delivered from the Prejudices they had received of the Bishops Encroachment. His Majesty condescending to this Motion, published the following Declaration; which is printed at large in *Collier*. Mr. *Neal* indeed faintly acknowledges, that the Judges gave their Opinion in the Case, but thinks the Opinion was insufficient and contrary to Law. In which I can't but think he discovers an unbecoming Conceit, in setting up his own Opinion in opposition to that of the most eminent Lawyers and Judges, both in King James's and King Charles's Reigns.

To this Objection the very learned Bishop *Stillingfleet* has returned a sufficient Answer: † ' The Legality of Visitations (*says he*) is a thing now peremptorily denied by some, out of a pretended Regard to the Principles of the Reformation,

* *Collier*, Vol. II. p. 775.

† Bishop *Stillingfleet*'s Miscellaneous Discourses on several Occasions. London, printed 1735. p. 258.

and the *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction*, invested in the
 Crown; which we are said to act against, by
 holding Visitations, without a Commission or
 Patent under the great Seal. Three things, the
 chief Objections may be reduced to. 1st, That
 our holding Visitations without Commission, is
 against the Oath of Supremacy. 2^{dly}, That it is
 against a Statute still in force, 1 *Edward VI.* 2.
 3^{dly}, That all Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction is taken
 away, by removing the *High-Commission Court*,
 on which it is said to be founded. First, *As to*
the Oath of Supremacy, there can be no Question,
 whether we do own the King's Supremacy, as
 expressed in that Oath, since we have all taken
 it, and are incapable of exercising any *Ec-*
clesiastical Jurisdiction without it. We all sub-
 scribe the thirty-seventh Article of our Church,
 wherein the supreme Government in Ecclesiasti-
 cal, as well as Civil Matters, is declared to be in
 the King. And therefore, we do own the Right,
 Power, and Authority, from whence this Juris-
 diction is derived, to be in the King as supreme
 Governor: for we renounce all foreign Jurisdic-
 tion, we challenge no independent unaccountable
 Jurisdiction; therefore there is a real owning the
 Derivation of it from the supreme Power lodged
 in the King; for all Jurisdiction must either be
 absolute and independent, or limited and deriva-
 tive. There is no Colour for saying, that we
 pretend to an absolute Power, and we cut off all
 foreign Jurisdiction, in most plain and express
 Words; therefore it must be derived from the
 same Authority, where we do own the supreme
 Power to lie. And it is observable in *Henry VIII.*
 his Time, when the Pope's Supremacy was cut
 off, yet there is no Provision made in the Statutes
 then, that there should be Commissions issued out
 in the King's Name, for Men to exercise the Ec-
 clesiast-

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clesiastical Jurisdiction. By Stat. 24 *Henry VIII.* 12. all Appeals to *Rome* are cut off, and the supreme Power declared to be in the King: and it is there enacted, That all Ecclesiastical Causes shall be heard and determined within the King's Jurisdiction and Authority, and not elsewhere, in such Court spiritual and temporal, as the Nature, Conditions, and Qualities of the Cases shall require; and Appeals shall be from the Archdeacon to the Bishop, &c. where we see the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction settle'd at the same time, that Appeals to *Rome* were cut off; and it was then thought unnecessary, that Commissions should be taken out in the King's Name. In the Statute of Submission of the Clergy, 25 *H. VIII.* 19. the Proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Courts are still allowed, and the final Appeal declared to be to the King's Majesty, in the King's Court in Chancery; which was thought fit to manifest, from whom the Jurisdiction was derived. In the Act 37 *Henry VIII.* c. 17. it is declared, That Archbishops, Bishops, and Archdeacons, have no manner of Jurisdiction, but by, under, and from the King's Majesty; but no mention of acting by Commissions in the King's Name. And it is acknowledged by Statute 1 *Edward VI.* 2. That in all *Henry VIII.*'s Time, the Process was made by the Bishops, &c. in their own Names, which would never have been endured by so jealous a Prince as *Henry VIII.* if he had thought that this had been any Derogation to his Supremacy. But as long as the Authority of the See of *Rome* was denied, and the King's Supremacy acknowledged, the other was not look'd on as a thing necessary to be done. 2. It is true, that 1 *Edward VI.* 2. a Statute was made, that the Commissions should be in the King's Name; which Statute was repealed, 1 *Mary* 2. which Repeal being taken
M off,

‘ off, 1 *Jac.* 25. it is pleaded that the first Statute is revived, and still in force. This made great noise in Parliament 4 *Jac.* I. to which these Answers were given by the most learned in the Law at that time.

* 1st, ‘ That the said Act was repealed by three several Acts of Parliament; and so, tho’ one or two of the said Acts of Repeal be nulled, yet if the other stand good, the Law is in no force. 2^{dly}, That the Act 1 *Eliz.* 1. revives the Statute 25 *Henry VIII.* 20. which is contrary to 1 *Edward VI.* 2. both as to the Manner of Election of Bishops, and their acting in their own Names; and therefore since that Act is in force, the other cannot be. 3^{dly}, The last and weakest Objection is from the High-Commission being taken away, and all Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction being founded therein; which is so far from being true, that 1 *Eliz.* 2. there is an express Clause for establishing the Power of Archbishops, Bishops, and Archdeacons in their Visitations. By which we see what Malice and Ignorance prevail among those who disperse Books to create Discontents among the People, when they pass over so plain and evident a Justification, in point of Law, of our Proceedings in these Visitations. And by the Statute 5 *Eliz.* 23. the judicial Proceedings in Ecclesiastical Courts, are ratified in such Crimes and Offences as belong to their Jurisdiction and Determination, and restored, by 13 *Car.* II. cap. 12. From all which it appears, that we have no reason to scruple the Legality of our Actings, though without an express Commission from the King for that purpose.’

To which we may add what the Right Reverend, and admirably Learned, the Lord Bishop of

* *Co.* 12. R. p. 7.

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London, observes upon this Statute. * ' That upon Consideration had of this Matter, by Command of the King, it was answered, and resolved by *Popham* Chief Justice, *Coke* Attorney, the Chief Baron, and the other Justices then attendant on Parliament, That although the said Act 1 *Mary*, be repealed, yet the Act 1 *Edward VI.* is not now in force, but remains repealed; and that for this Cause, that the foregoing Act 25 *Hen. VIII.* cap. 20. tho' repealed by 1 and 2 *Philip and Mary*, cap. 2. was revived expressly, and by Name, in the 1st of *Eliz.* cap. 1. § 7. &c. From hence it follows, (says Lord *Coke*) that the Act of 1 *Eliz.* reviving the 25 *Henry VIII.* hath repeal'd the Act of 1 *Edward VI.*

Neal, *ibid.* This was an Outrage against the Laws, contrary to the Act of Submission.

If it was, then was Bishop *Ridley* the Martyr guilty of such an Outrage against the Laws; he having published Articles of Visitation Anno 1550, in his own Name; which are to be met with in Bishop *Sparrow's* Collections.

Neal, p. 188. The Church was now in the Height of its Splendour, and grasp'd not only at all spiritual Jurisdiction, but at the highest Preferments of State; for this Year Dr. *Juxon*, Bishop of London, was declared Lord High Treasurer of England. *Juxon's* Fame had hardly been known at Court above two Years; for till then he was no more than a private Chaplain to the King, and Head of a poor College in Oxford.

† ' He was made Dean of Worcester, January 1627, in the place of Dr. *Joseph Hall*, promoted to the See of Exeter, being then one of His Majesty's Chaplains in Ordinary. On the 10th of July 1632, at Dr. *Laud's* Suit, then Bishop of

* Bishop *Gibson's* Codex, p. 132.

† *Wood's Athen. Oxon.* Part II. p. 662.

' London, he was sworn Clerk of His Majesty's
 ' Closet. In the Year 1633, he was elected Bishop
 ' of Hereford, in the place of Dr. Francis Godwin
 ' deceased, was about that time made Dean of the
 ' King's Chappel; and on the Translation of Dr.
 ' Laud to the See of Canterbury, which was on the
 ' 19th of September, the same Year, he was trans-
 ' lated to London: The Office of Lord Treasurer
 ' conferr'd upon him, Sunday 6th of March, 1635.
 From whence it is plain, that he had been known
 at Court *above two Years*; and how deserving he
 was of this High Promotion, and how well qua-
 lified for it, we have Variety of Authorities to
 prove. * Mr. Whitlock, not the greatest Friend to
 Episcopacy, speaks of him in the following man-
 ner: ' Juxon was a Person of great Parts and Tem-
 ' per, and had much command of himself, &c.
 And again; † ' He was full of Ingenuity and
 ' Meekness, and not apt to give offence to any,
 ' but willing to do good to all.'

Mr. Echard's Character of him, from Sir Philip
 Warwick, and others, as follows: || ' This Prelate
 ' was of an excellent Temper, of a meek Spirit,
 ' and solid Judgment; and having addicted his first
 ' Studies to the Civil Law, in which he commen-
 ' ced Doctor, this fitted him the more for Secular
 ' and State Affairs. Tho' he found the Revenue low,
 ' and much anticipated, yet meeting good Times,
 ' and the King inclined to Frugality, he happily
 ' supported the Dignity of his Majesty's Hou-
 ' hold, the Splendour of the Court, and all pub-
 ' lick Expences, with Justice in all Contracts, so
 ' as to have as few Complaints in his Time, as
 ' perhaps in any; and yet he clear'd off all Anti-
 ' cipations on the Revenue, and set his Master be-

* Whitlock's Memorial, p. 23.

† Ibid. p. 94, 95, 96.

|| History of England, Vol. II. p. 118.

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fore-hand. His Proceedings were always with Calmness and Circumspection, and the King highly valued his Advice in all Emergencies; declaring to a Friend of his, that he never got his Opinion freely in his Life; but when he had it, he was the better for it. His mild Behaviour and Prudence wrought so effectually upon all Men, that tho' he bore the two most invidious Characters, one of a Bishop, the other of a Lord Treasurer, yet neither drew Envy upon his Person; the Humour of the Times tended to brand all great Men in Employment: so that the Lord Falkland afterward, in a severe Speech against Bishops in Parliament, could not but give him this Testimony, *That in an unexpected Place and Power, he expressed an equal Moderation and Humility, being neither ambitious before, nor proud after, either of the Crozier, or White-Staff.* It was by means of this admirable Temper and Conduct, that he weather'd the most dreadful Storm that ever the Nation felt, and at last rode triumphantly in the Harbour: and all without any Shipwreck of his Honour, or his Principles. Sure, there was never a more fortunate Pilot, and never a more honest Man.* For a further Character of him, I refer the Reader to the Authorities cited in the Margin*.

Neal, *ibid.* Lord Clarendon says, *there was not one Churchman in any degree of Favour [at Court] of a scandalous Insufficiency in Learning, or a more scandalous Condition of Life; but on the contrary, most of them of eminent Parts and Knowledge, and of virtuous and unblemish'd Lives,*

* Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 94. Fuller's Church-History, Book XI. p. 30. Wood's Athenæ, 1st Edit. Part II. 662, 663. Reliq. Baxterian. p. 433. qu. 133. Welwood's Memoirs, p. 70.

And in the same Paragraph, Lord Clarendon adds, * ' That there was sometimes preached there
 ' [at *Whitehall*] Matter very unfit for the Place,
 ' and very scandalous for the Persons who pre-
 ' sumed often to determine things out of the Verge
 ' of their own Profession, and *in ordine ad spiritua-*
 ' *lia*, gave unto *Cæsar* what *Cæsar* refused to re-
 ' ceive, as not belonging to him. But it is true, (as
 ' was once said by a Man fitter to be believed in that
 ' Point than I, and one not suspected of flattering
 ' the Clergy) that if the Sermons of those preach'd
 ' at Court were collected together, and published,
 ' the World would receive the best Bulk of Or-
 ' thodox Divinity, profound Learning, convincing
 ' Reason, natural powerful Eloquence, and admi-
 ' rable Devotion, than has been communicated in
 ' any Age since the Apostles Times.'

Neal, p. 297. *Mr. Lilburn, afterwards a Colo-
 nel in the Army, for refusing to take an Oath, to an-
 swer all Interrogatories concerning his importing and
 publishing seditious Libels, was fined 500 l. and to be
 whipt through the Streets; from the Fleet to the Pil-
 lory before Westminster-Hall Gate. While he was
 in the Pillory, he uttered many bold and passionate
 Speeches, against the Tyranny of the Bishops.*

This *Lilburn* was of a furious and ungovernable Spirit, as appears from his Writings. † ' The
 ' Church of *England* (*says he*) is a true whorish
 ' Mother, and you are one of her base-begotten
 ' bastardly Children; the Church of *England* nei-
 ' ther is, nor ever was married, joined, or uni-
 ' ted to Christ in that Espousal Band, which his
 ' Churches are, and ever ought to be; but is one
 ' of *Antichrist's* national whorish Churches, united,
 ' joined, and knit to the Pope of *Lambeth*, as

* *Clarendon's History*, Vol. I. p. 60.

† *Lilburn's Answer to Nine Arguments written by T. B.*
 1638. p. 2. *Penes me.*

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‘ Husband thereof, being Substitute to the *Pope* of
‘ *Rome*, from whom he has received his Archiepif-
‘ copal Power.’ This Man died a *Quaker*, (as ap-
‘ pears from Mr. *Smith*’s * *Obituary*,) ‘ *August* 28.
‘ 1657. *John Lilburn*, (says he) a busy Man,
‘ died at *Eltham*, and was buried in the new
‘ Church-Yard, by *Bedlam* 31. accompanied by
‘ his Fellow *Quakers*.’

Neal, *ibid*. Dr. *Cornelius Burges*, in a *Latin*
Sermon before the *Clergy* of *London*, preached against
the Severities of the *Bishops*, and refusing to give his
Diocesan a Copy of his *Sermon*, was put in the *High-*
Commission.

If we may credit *Anthony Wood*, Dr. *Burges* was
not capable of making a *Latin Sermon*. He in-
forms us, † ‘ That in the Year 1627, he took
‘ both the Degrees in Divinity as a Compounder;
‘ at which time undertaking to answer the Doctors
‘ in the Divinity Act, shew’d himself so sorry a
‘ Disputant, and so sufficiently ignorant in the
‘ Terms of Logick, that instead of saying, *Nega-*
‘ *tur Major*, and *Negatur Minor*, he could say no-
‘ thing else but *Negatur id*; whereupon *Prideaux*,
the *Regius Professor*, said to him openly, with a
merry Jeer, *Tu potes benè prædicare, sed non potes*
benè disputare.’

Neal, p. 298. Even the *Populace*, that were not
capable of writing Books, expressed their Resentments
against the Archbishop, by dispersing Libels about the
Town, in which they threatned his Destruction. His
Grace entred some of them in his Diary.

And does he infer from hence, that the *Populace*
were in the right? The *Populace*, during Dr.
Sacheverel’s Trial, were not capable of writing Books,
and yet they expressed their Resentments against
the Dissenters, and their Meeting-Houses; which Be-

* MSS. Rev. Tho. Baker.

† Wood’s *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. II. p. 235.

haviour, (tho' it is condemned by every confiderate Person in the *established Church*) yet, according to Mr. Neal's way of speaking, must certainly have been right.

Mr. Neal's Reflection upon the Order of Council, to bar the Ministers from going out of the Kingdom, is as follows.

Pag. 300. *This was a Degree of Severity hardly to be parallel'd in the Christian World.*

'Tis not difficult to be parallel'd; for Dr. South (with whom agree Mr. Younger, and Sir William Dugdale) informs us, * ' That the Persecution ran so high in Cromwell's Time, that that execrable Monster made, and published that barbarous, Heathenish, or rather unhuman Edict against the poor Episcopal Clergy, *That they should neither preach, nor pray in publick, nor baptize, nor marry, nor bury, nor teach School; no, nor so much as live in any Gentleman's House; who, in mere Charity, might be inclined to take them in from perishing in the Streets: that is, in other Words, that they might starve and die ex officio, and being turned out of their Churches, take possession only of the Church-Yard, as so many Victims to the remorseless Rage of a foul, ill-bred Tyrant, professing Piety, without so much as common Humanity.*'

Neal, p. 301. *The Bishops and Courtiers being not insensible of the Number and Weight of their Enemies among the more resolved Protestants, determined to balance their Power, by joining with the Papists.*

I beg to use Dr. South's Words once more, in answer: † ' However (says he) Knaves at present may abuse Fools with Words for a time, yet

* South's Sermons, Vol. I. p. 420. Younger's Brief View of the Troubles, &c. p. 77. Sir William Dugdale's Short View of the Troubles, p. 258.

† South's Sermons, Vol. I. p. 242.

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there will come a Day, in which the most active
Papists will be found under the Puritan Mask;
and in which it will appear, that the Conventicle
was the Jesuits safest Kennel.

Neal, Ibid. *Franciscus de Sancta Clara*, an eminent Franciscan Fryar, publish'd a Book, wherein he endeavour'd to accommodate the Articles of the Church of England, to the Sense of the Church of Rome; so that both Parties might subscribe them. The Book was dedicated to the King, and the Fryar admitted to an Acquaintance with the Archbishop.

Then follow'd (says * the Archbishop) the Charge of *Sancta Clara's* Book, alias Monsieur Saint Gyles, so they expressed it, and I must follow the way they lead me. First then, they charge, that I had often Conference with him, while he was writing his Book, entitled, *Deus, Natura, & Gratia*. No, he never came to me, till he was ready to print the Book. Then some Friends of his brought him to me; his Suit then was, that he might print that Book here: Upon Speech with him, I found the scope of his Book to be such, that the Church of *England* would have little cause to thank him for it; and so absolutely denied it. Nor did he ever come more to me after this, but twice or thrice at most, when he made great Friends to me, that he might print another Book, to prove that Bishops are by Divine Right. My Answer then was, that I did not like the way, which the Church of *Rome* went in the Case of Episcopacy. And howsoever, I would never give way, that ever any such Book should be printed here from the Pen of a *Romanist*; and that the Bishops of *England* were able to defend their own Cause and Calling, without calling in aid from the Church of *Rome*,

* Trial and Troubles, p. 385.

‘ and would in due time. Maintenance he never
 ‘ had any from me, nor did I then know him to
 ‘ be a *Priest*; nor was there any Proof so much as
 ‘ offer’d in, contrary to this. *Secondly*, They did
 ‘ except against a Passage in the Licensing, and
 ‘ another at the end of the Book. The Book was
 ‘ printed at *Lyons*, where I could not hinder the
 ‘ printing, either the Whole, or of any Part. This
 ‘ might have been something, had I licens’d it
 ‘ here, but that I constantly denied.’

Neal, p. 302. *Mr. Adams, in a Sermon preach’d at St. Mary’s in Cambridge, asserted the Expediency of Auricular Confession, saying, it was as necessary to Salvation, as Meat is to the Body.*

The Words in *Collier*, * ‘ That Confession is no
 ‘ less necessary to Salvation, than the Sacrament
 ‘ of Baptism.’ In † *Pryn*, his Author; ‘ As ne-
 ‘ cessary to Salvation, as the Ministry of Baptism;
 ‘ as necessary to Salvation, as Meat is to the
 ‘ Body.’

Neal, p. 305. *The Papists had a common Purse, with which they purchased several Monopolies, and bestowed the Profits upon their best Friends; several military Men were put into Commission, and great Numbers were list’d into his Majesty’s Armies against the Scots.*

The Authority plac’d against this, is *Collier*, p. 781. Not one Syllable of what he here mentions, is to be met with in the Place referr’d to: Nor do I believe, that he can produce the least Authority for his Assertion, *That great Numbers of Papists were list’d into his Majesty’s Armies against the Scots.* But we have incontestable Proof of *Papists* in the Army of his darling and beloved Parliament afterward. *King Charles*, in his Declaration, *October 23, 1642.* has the following Words: || ‘ All Men

* *Collier*, p. 772.

† *Canterbury’s Doom*, p. 192.

|| *King Charles’s Works*, p. 323.

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‘ know the great Number of *Papists* that serve in
 ‘ their Armies, Commanders and others: The
 ‘ great Industry to corrupt the Loyalty and Affec-
 ‘ tions of all our loving Subjects of that Religion ;
 ‘ the private Promises and Undertakings, that they
 ‘ have made to them, that if they would assist
 ‘ them against Us, all the Laws made in their
 ‘ prejudice should be repeal’d.’ ‡ *Salmonet*, who
 was himself a *Secular Priest*, owns ; ‘ That abun-
 ‘ dance of *Popish Priests* were found among the
 ‘ dead in the Parliament-Army at *Edge-bill*.’ And
 * *Sir William Dugdale* assures us, ‘ That certain
 ‘ Troopers of *Popish Walloons* lying about *Putney*
 ‘ and *Kingston*, and entertain’d in the Rebels Ser-
 ‘ vice ; being ask’d the Reason why they would
 ‘ serve against the King ? answer’d, *That it was*
 ‘ *all one for point of Religion ; but only if they serv’d*
 ‘ *the King, they could not be permitted an open Exer-*
 ‘ *cise of their Devotions, according to the Church of*
 ‘ *Rome, which the two Houses gave them leave to*
 ‘ *do.*’ And in another Place ; † ‘ To hinder his
 ‘ Majesty (says he) from the Assistance of his good
 ‘ Subjects, under one pretence or other (though
 ‘ they had cried out against his raising an Army,
 ‘ by the help of *Papists*, to destroy the *Protestant*
 ‘ *Religion*,) they were not asham’d to make a
 ‘ publick Order, (October 6. 1642.) *That if any*
 ‘ *Papist would bring in considerable Sums to them upon*
 ‘ *the Propositions, it should be accepted.*’

Mr. Neal, p. 308. gives us the Lord Clarendon’s Representation of the Times, at the beginning of King Charles’s Reign, with very wise Remarks of his own, as usual ; which he concludes in the following manner :

‡ *Echard’s History of England*, Vol. II. p. 353. *Dugdale’s Short View of the Troubles*, p. 564.

* *Id. Ib.*

† *Dugdale’s Short View, &c.* p. 105.

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P. 311. *That to make his Lordship's Account of the Times, consistent with the Truth, or with his own Behaviour at the beginning of the Long Parliament, one is almost tempted to suspect, it must have receiv'd some Amendments, or Colourings from the Hands of Editors.*

How unhappy is it for Mr. Neal, that his Second Volume of the History of the Puritans was publish'd so soon! Had he staid a little longer, he would have found reason to have alter'd his Opinion of the Editors of Lord Clarendon's History. For by the Discovery of the Original Manuscript, that Point is fully clear'd up; the false, scandalous, and malicious Reflections of Mr. Oldmixon confuted; and Mr. Neal's unkind Insinuations might have been prevented.

Neal, p. 312. *We have mentioned the preposterous publishing the Scots Book of Canons a Year before their Liturgy, which was not finish'd till the Month of October 1636. His Majesty's Reasons for compiling it were, "That his Royal Father had intended it, and made a large Progress in the Work, in order to curb such of his Subjects in Scotland as were inclined to Puritanism."*

* His Majesty's Words: "Our Father of blessed Memory, immediately after his coming into England, comparing the Decency and Uniformity of God's Worship here, especially in the Liturgy of the Church, with that Diversity, nay Deformity which was us'd in Scotland, where no set or publick Form of Prayer was us'd; but Preachers and Readers, and ignorant School-masters pray'd in the Church; sometimes so ignorantly, as it was a shame to all Religion to have the Majesty of God so barbarously spoken unto; sometimes so seditiously, that their

* King Charles's large Declaration, concerning the late Tumults in Scotland, p. 15. *Bibliotheca Regia*, p. 115.

"Prayers

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“ Prayers were plain Libels, girding at Sovereignty
“ and Authority ; or Lyes, being stuff'd with all
“ the false Reports in the Kingdom : He did im-
“ mediately, as became a Religious Prince, be-
“ think himself seriously, how his first Reforma-
“ tion in that Kingdom might begin at the Pub-
“ lick Worship of God, which he most truly
“ conceiv'd could never be happily effected, until
“ such time as there should be an Unity and Uni-
“ formity in the Publick Prayers, Liturgy, and
“ Service of the Church establisht, throughout
“ the whole Kingdom.”

Neal, Ibid. That his present Majesty resolv'd to pursue the same Design, and therefore consented to the Publication of this Book, (which was the same in Substance with the English Liturgy,) That the Roman Party might not upbraid us with any material Differences ; and yet it was so far distinct, that it might truly be reputed a Book of that Church's composing, and establisht by his Royal Authority as King of Scotland.

* “ We resolv'd, (says King Charles) by the
“ Grace of God, to pursue that his Pious and
“ Princely Design for settling a Publick Liturgy in
“ that our Kingdom of Scotland ; it having been so
“ happily atchiev'd, facilitated, and almost per-
“ fected by him. To which purpose, we caus'd
“ the said Service-Book, transmitted by him to that
“ Church, to be remitted and sent back to us ; that
“ after our Perusal and Alterations, if any should
“ be found either necessary or convenient, it like-
“ wise might receive our Royal Authority and Ap-
“ probation : We having receiv'd that Book, and
“ after many serious Consultations had with divers
“ of our Bishops and Clergy of that Kingdom then
“ here present with us ; and after our Advices by

* *Large Declaration, p. 17. Bibliotheca Regia, p. 116.*

' our Letters, and Instructions to the rest at home;
 ' and after many humble Advertisements and Re-
 ' monstrances made from them to us, of the Rea-
 ' sons of some Alterations, which they did con-
 ' ceive would remove divers Difficulties, which o-
 ' therwise they fear'd this Book would encounter
 ' with; we were contented that the Service-Book
 ' should come out as now it is printed; being fully
 ' liked by them, and sign'd with their Hands, and
 ' perused, approved and published by our Royal
 ' Command and Authority.

' In the Perusal and Approbation whereof, we
 ' took special care that the small Alterations of it,
 ' in which it differeth from the *English* Service-
 ' Book, should be such, as we had reason to
 ' think, would best comply with the Minds and
 ' Dispositions of the Subjects of that Kingdom.
 ' For we supposing, that they might have taken
 ' some Offence, if we had tender'd the *English* Ser-
 ' vice-Book, *totidem verbis*; and that some facti-
 ' ous Spirits would have misconstrued it as a Badge
 ' of Dependance of that Church upon this of *Eng-
 ' land*, which we had put upon them, to the pre-
 ' judice of their Laws and Liberties; we held it fit-
 ' ter that a new Book should be compos'd by their
 ' own Bishops, in Substance not differing from this
 ' of *England*; that so the *Roman* Party might not
 ' upbraid us with any weighty or material Diffe-
 ' rences in our Liturgies, and yet in some few in-
 ' sensible Alterations differing from it; that it
 ' might truly and justly be reputed a Book of that
 ' Church's own composing, and establish'd by our
 ' Royal Authority as King of *Scotland*. And thus
 ' conceiving we had discharg'd the Duty of a Re-
 ' ligious King towards God, and of a gracious
 ' Prince in accommodating this Book so, that our
 ' Subjects of that Kingdom should have no cause
 ' to have the least Suspicion of any intended De-
 ' pendency

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‘ pendency of that Church upon this, we sent
‘ home the Book to the Lords of our Privy-Coun-
‘ cil. After their Receipt and Consideration of it,
‘ we by their Advice, and they by our Authority,
‘ commanded by publick Proclamation, that the
‘ said Book should be publickly read, and receiv’d
‘ in all the Churches of that our Kingdom; and
‘ should begin to be practis’d upon *Easter* next 1637.’

Neal, p. 313. *It was revised and corrected, and altered by Archbishop Laud, and Bishop Wren, as appear’d by the Original found in the Archbishop’s Chamber in the Tower, in which the Alterations were inserted with his own Hand.*

The Archbishop answers, * ‘ I here take it upon
‘ my Salvation, that I inserted nothing without his
‘ Majesty’s Knowledge, nor any thing against his
‘ Purpose.’

Neal, *Ibid.* *The Liturgy thus modell’d, was sent into Scotland with a Royal Proclamation, dated December 12, 1636.*

† It bears Date the 20th Day of December, as appears from the Proclamation, printed before the *Scotch* Liturgy, at *Edinburgh*, by *Robert Young* 1637.

‘ Given under our Signet at *Edinburgh*, the
‘ 20th Day of December, and of our Reign the
‘ 12th, 1636. *Per Actum Secreti Concilii.*

Neal, *Ibid.* *The Archbishop of St. Andrews, with some of his more prudent Brethren, foreseeing the Disorders that would arise, advised the deferring it yet longer; but Archbishop Laud was so much of a different mind, That he procur’d a Warrant from the King, commanding the Scots Bishops to go forward at all Events, threat’ning, that if they moved heavily, or threw in unnecessary Delays, the King would remove them, and fill their Sees with Churchmen of more Zeal and Resolution.*

* Trial and Troubles, p. 114.

† See *Bibliotheca Regia*, p. 137, 138.

This is not very likely, and as he produces no Vouchers for what he says, he cannot reasonably take it amiss, if we don't readily assent to it. Nay, there is no mention in the *Bibliotheca Regia*, (where all the Transactions relating to the *Scotch Liturgy* and *Canons* are printed at length) of any such thing. Bishop *Laud*, where he signifies his Majesty's Pleasure to the new Bishop of *Dunblane*, concerning the Communion in the Chappel-Royal, the Book of Ordination, and the Liturgy, says nothing like it. His Conclusion:

* And whereas you write, that much more
 ' might have been done, if the Times would have
 ' borne it; I make no doubt but there might have
 ' been a fuller Addition: But God be thank'd, this
 ' will do very well, and I hope breed a great deal
 ' of devout and religious Piety in that Kingdom.
 ' Yet I pray, for my farther Satisfaction, at your best
 ' leisure, draw up all those Particulars, which you
 ' think might make the *Liturgy* perfect, whether
 ' the Times will bear them or not, and send them
 ' safe to me; and I will not fail to give you my
 ' Judgment of them, and perhaps put some of
 ' them to further use, at least in my own parti-
 ' cular.

' One thing more, and then I have done. In
 ' his Majesty's authorizing of the Notes in this Book
 ' prefix'd to the beginning of it; tho' he leaves a
 ' Liberty to my Lords, the Archbishop of *St. An-*
 ' *drewe's*, and his Brethren the Bishops, who are
 ' upon the Place, upon apparent reason to vary
 ' some things; yet you must know and inform
 ' them, that his Majesty having view'd all these
 ' Additions, hopes that there will be no need of
 ' change of any thing, and will be pleas'd with
 ' little or no Alteration. So wishing all Prosperity

* *Bibliotheca Regia*, Cap. 6. p. 130, 131.

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‘ to that Church, and a happy finishing of your
‘ Liturgy, and Health to my Brethren the Bi-
‘ shops, I leave you to the Grace of God, and
‘ rest,’

Your Lordship's very

Lambeth, April,
20. 1636.

Loving Friend, and Brother.

W. Cant.

* Mr. Collier, and Bishop Gutbry, give a different Account of this Matter, from Mr. Neal's. ‘ This Advice (says the former) might
‘ probably have been follow'd, in case the *Scotch*
‘ Bishops had been better agreed, and acted un-
‘ animously; but some of those of this Order
‘ lately prefer'd, having an over-balance of Heat
‘ and Spirits, refus'd to concur with their Brethren
‘ of better Experience: Instead of managing with
‘ this Precaution, they went in with the Earl of
‘ *Traquair's* Sentiment, and press'd for Execution
‘ and Dispatch. By the way, this Nobleman, who
‘ was Lord-Treasurer, had a bottom Design, which
‘ they were by no means aware of. His Business
‘ was to promote unacceptable Measures, to push
‘ Things to Extremities, and ruin the Bishops. He
‘ was apprehensive, it seems, that these Men might
‘ grow too big for his Interest; and particularly,
‘ that *Maxwell*, Bishop of *Ross*, endeavour'd to sup-
‘ plant him in his Post, and grasp'd at the Trea-
‘ surer's Staff: And believing the rest of the Bi-
‘ shops inclined to second *Maxwell* in his Ambition,
‘ he prov'd a mortal (tho' a secret) Enemy to the
‘ whole Order. And the King expresses himself
‘ upon this Occasion as follows:

* Collier, p. 769, 770. Bishop Gutbry's Memoirs, p. 17.

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* ‘ We did, with the Book, send home certain
‘ Instructions and Directions, to our Bishops of that
‘ Kingdom, sign’d with our own Hand; amongst
‘ which, this was one: that notwithstanding we had
‘ now established this Book by our Authority, yet
‘ they should proceed with all Moderation, and dis-
‘ pense with such, for the practice of some things
‘ contain’d in the Book, as they should find either
‘ not well persuaded of them, or willing to be infor-
‘ med concerning them; or did hope that Time
‘ and Reason might gain a better Belief of them.’

Neal, p. 315. *The Clergy that read the Liturgy in the other Churches, met with the like Usage, insomuch, that the whole City was in an Uproar; but it did not yet appear, that any besides meaner People were concern’d in it.*

† ‘ This bold Salley (says Collier, from Bishop
‘ Guthry’s Memoirs) tho’ it carried the Face of a
‘ rash, unpremeditated Riot, was in reality the
‘ Result of a Consideration held at *Edinburgh*, in
‘ April last. Here the Lord *Balmerinock*, Sir *Thomas Hope* Advocate, and Mr. *Alexander Henderson*, with some others of Conduct and Figure, be-
‘ ing in the Concert, engaged the Women to be-
‘ gin the Attack upon the Book; giving them As-
‘ surance, that the Men would support them, and
‘ go on with the Quarrel.’

Neal, *ibid.* *Among the Ministers that opposed the reading of the Liturgy, were the Reverend Mr. Ramsay, Mr. Rollock, Mr. Henderson, Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Bruce.*

The King, in his large Declaration, speaks of one of them, the Reverend Mr. *Rollock*, as follows: || ‘ The Service-Book which was to be read,
‘ having been in publick Sermons commended by

* King *Charles’s* large Declaration, p. 21.

† Collier, p. 777. Guthry’s Memoirs, p. 20.

|| Large Declaration, p. 22.

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many Preachers, without any apparent Disgust of the Book, or Disgrace offered to the Preachers Persons; nay, having been commended in Sermons, by some of their now principal Covenanting Ministers, who have since been the greatest Railers against it, by none more than one *Rollock*, a Minister of *Edinburgh*, who both in a Sermon preach'd by him at a Synod in *Edinburgh*, before the Bishop of the Diocese, and in his Sermon on the Sunday of Intimation of the reading of the Service-Book, the next *Sunday*, did highly magnify the Book.* And again, * ' In the College Church, *Rollock*, one of the Preachers there, who the *Sunday* before, at the Intimation of the Reading, had so much commended the Book, and had undertaken this Day to read it, though he had the Book ready to be carried to the Church with him, yet very wisely resolved to halt a little, until he might know how it was entertain'd at St. *Gyles* Church, that so his Conscience might comply with the Carriage of the Multitude; whose Rudeness being reported to him, he (notwithstanding his Commendations of the Book, and his faithful Promise to read it) thought it the safer Course to leave himself to the Censure of all Men, for his Levity and Breach of Promise, than offend the Multitude, whose Favour is the only Air in which he taketh delight to breathe and live.'

And Dr. *Nalson* gives a further Account of this *Rollock*, not much to his advantage. † ' One *Mary Michelton*, (says he) who, for several Years, had been distracted, was by them (the *Covenanters*) reported to be inspired: in which Fits, thousands resorted to her; she extolled the *Covenant*, and made bitter Investives against the Opposers of it. *Rollock*, her Favourite, and, as was sup-

* P. 24.

† *Nalson's* Collections, Vol. I. p. 93, 94.

‘ posed, her Tutor, being desired to pray with her, answered, *He durst not do it, it being no good Manners in him to speak, while his Master was speaking in her*: whenas, by Observation of the most Intelligent, it appear’d *Confederacy*; and that she was not *intranced*, for in her pretended Raptures, she would make pertinent Answers; and all that she spake was in favour of the *Covenant*, that theirs was from Heaven, but that commanded by his Majesty from *Sathan*, and that all its Adherents should be confounded, which made it smell strongly of *Romish* Imposture, and a pious Fraud.’

Neal, p. 316. *These Proclamations* [viz. those issued by the King’s Council] *inflamed the People to such a degree, that the very next Day the Bishop of Galloway would have been torn in pieces by the Mob, as he was going to the Council-House, had he not been rescued by Mr. Steward; but missing of his Lordship, they beset the Council-House, and threatened to break open the Door, insomuch that the Lords who were assembled, were obliged to send for some of the popular Nobility in Town to their Relief; but the People would not disperse, till the Council had promised to join with the other Lords, in petitioning the King against the Service-Book, and to restore the silenced Ministers.*

The King’s Remark upon their first Tumult, occasioned by reading the *Scotch* Liturgy, is this:
 ‘ * And now we desire all Men to consider, what Blessing and Success from Heaven might be expected upon this grand and important Reformation of Religion, as they call it; the Begetter and Beginner whereof, was the horrible Profanation of the *Lord’s own Day*, and that, in the *Lord’s own Houses, and Temples*; and all this attended with the Contempt, and treading under

* King Charles’s large Declaration, p. 25.

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foot, the sacred Authority and Laws of Us the Lord's Anointed; as also with the Violation of the Persons of the Lord's Priests and Prophets, his Bishops and Ministers; and all these practis'd by the base Multitude, disavow'd and disclaim'd at that time, by all Magistrates and Persons put in Authority, and all others, of any Rank and Quality, who branded that Multitude with the Names of the Scum and Froth of the People, and offer'd themselves to the uttermost of their Diligence and Assistance, for the finding them out, and bringing them to the highest and most condign Punishment, as shall presently appear from the Demeanour of the Magistrates, when they were called before our Council for that purpose.'

Neal, p. 316. *The Petitions* [viz. one against the Liturgy and Canons] were transmitted to the King; who, instead of returning a soft Answer, ordered a Proclamation to be published from Sterling, [February 19.] against the late disorderly Tumults; in which, after having declared his Abhorrence of all Superstition and Popery, he expressed his Displeasure against the Petitioners.

* This Proclamation bears date from Sterling, the 9th Day of February, 1638. The Title of it, *His Majesty's Proclamation, relating to a Petition presented to the Lords of His Council in Scotland, against the Liturgy and Canons.* Upon which Dr. Heylin observes as follows: † 'Had his Majesty followed at the heels of this Proclamation, with a powerful Army, according to the Custom of his Predecessors, the Kings of England, it might have done some good upon them. But Proclamations of Grace and Favour, if not back'd by Arms, are but like Cannons charged with Powder without Ball or Bullet, making more Noise

* *Bibliotheca Regia*, p. 147.

† *Heylin's Cyprianus Anglicus*, p. 334.

‘ than Execution; and serve for nothing in effect,
 ‘ but to make the Rebel insolent, and the Prince
 ‘ contemptible.’

*Id. ib. And to prevent any farther Riots, ordered
 the Term or Session to be removed from Linlithgow to
 Sterling.*

There is no Order given in this Proclamation,
 (I will take upon me to say, having perused it care-
 fully) for the *Removal of the Session or Term from*
Linlithgow to Sterling, as *Mr. Neal* asserts. And
 the King there expresses himself with the utmost
 Tenderneſs to his *Scottiſh* Subjects; and ſays that he
 believed, ‘ That what they had done therein, was
 ‘ out of a prepoſterous Zeal, and not out of any
 ‘ Diſloyalty or Diſaffection to Sovereignty; and
 ‘ that he was graciouſly pleaſed, in ſo far as con-
 ‘ cerns theſe Meetings, for conſulting or ſubſcri-
 ‘ bing of theſe Petitions to any Judge or Judges
 ‘ of the ſaid Kingdom, to diſpenſe therewith, and
 ‘ with what may be their Fault or Error therein,
 ‘ to all ſuch as upon Signification or Declaration of
 ‘ his Pleaſure ſhall retire themſelves, as becometh
 ‘ his dutiful Subjects.’ And concludes in the fol-
 lowing gracious Words: * ‘ And as concerning
 ‘ any Petitions that hereafter ſhall be given unto
 ‘ us, upon this, or any other Subject, we are like-
 ‘ wiſe pleaſed to declare, that we will not ſhut our
 ‘ Ears therefrom, ſo that neither the Matter or
 ‘ Form be prejudicial to regal Authority. Given
 ‘ under our Signet at *Sterling*, the 9th Day of Fe-
 ‘ bruary, 1638.’

Neal, p. 322. *His Lordſhip [viz. the Marquis
 of Hamilton] moved his Maſteſty either to yield to the
 People, or haſten his Royal Arms. The King replied,
 that he would rather die, than yield to their impertin-
 ent and damnable Demands, (as you rightly call
 them; omitted by Mr. Neal) but admitted of the*

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Marquis's flattering them to gain Time. Rushworth, p. 752.

The Words in the place referred to, *Gain Time* by all the honest Means you can, without forsaking your Grounds.

Mr. Neal, p. 328. speaking of the first Scots War, says, That the Archbishop of Canterbury writ to the Bishops of his Province, that this being *Bellum Episcopale*, a War for the Support of Episcopacy, they should stir up their Clergy to a liberal Contribution. Pryn's Introduction, p. 177.

Here is a small Mistake (but what is but too common with Mr. Neal) of one Bishop for another. The Archbishop does not call it *Bellum Episcopale*, in his Letter to the Bishops; * but Dr. Peirce, Bishop of Bath and Wells, calls it so, in his Letter to his Clergy.

Neal, p. 331. Mr. Charles Chauncey, B. D. was educated in Cambridge, and Greek Professor in that University.

Mr. Charles Chauncey was admitted Senior in Trinity-College, Cambridge, April 20. 1610. † He has a Copy of Latin Verses upon Queen Anne's Death, [King James's Queen] in 1619. He was then of Trinity-College, but no Degree mentioned, tho' probably he was A. M. ‖ He has another Latin Copy upon the Death of King James, and Accession of King Charles, where he is stiled Fellow of Trinity-College, and Batchelor of Divinity. And ‡ two Copies, one Latin, the other Greek,

* Pryn's Introduction, p. 177. Antipathy of English Lordly Prelacy, Part II. chap. 6.

† Vide *Lachrym. Cantabrig.* in obitum Serenissimæ Anna Reginæ, &c. 1619. p. 42.

‖ *Cantabrig. Dolor, & Solamen; seu Decessio Beat. Reg. Jac. &c. & Successio Caroli, &c.* 1625. p. 17, 18, 19.

‡ *Epithalamium Caroli & Henrietta Maria, à Musis Cantabrig. decantat.* 1625. penes Rev. Tho. Baker, S. T. B.

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upon the Marriage of King *Charles I.* with *Henrietta Maria*, with the bare Stile of Batchelor of Divinity. And as the superior Title of *Greek Professor* is not mentioned in any of these Copies of Verses, we might from thence, if we had no other Evidence, fairly conclude, that he had no such Office in the University. Nay, the contrary fully appears from the List of our * *Greek Professors*, from the first Foundation of that *Professorship* in *Henry VIII's* Reign, to this Time; which are as follow:

Erasmus Roterodamus.

Richard Crook, Fellow of *King's College.*

Sir Tho. Smith, Knight, Fellow of *Queen's.*

Sir John Cheke, Kt. of *St. John's.*

Nich. Carr, Fellow of *Pembroke-Hall*, and after of *Trinity Coll.*

Bartholomew Dodington, Fellow of *Trin. Coll.*

Francis Wilkinson, Fellow of *Trin. Coll.*

Andrew Downes, Fellow of *St. John's Coll.*

Robert Creyghton, Fellow of *Trin. Coll.*

James Duport, S. T. B. *Trin. Coll.*

Ralph Widdrington, Sen. Fellow of *Christ's Coll.*

Isaac Barrow, Fellow of *Trin. Coll.*

James Valentine, Fellow of *Trin. Coll.*

Robert Creyghton, Fellow of *Trin. Coll.*

Tho. Gale, Fellow of *Trin. Coll.* 1666.

The Honourable *John North*, M. A. Fellow of *Trin. Coll.* 1672.

Benj. Pulleyn, Fellow of *Trin. Coll.* 1674.

Mich. Payne, Fellow of *Trin. Coll.*

Joshua Barnes, S. T. B. Fellow of *Emanuel Coll.* 1695.

Tho. Pilgrim, M. A. Fellow of *Trin. Coll.*, resigned Midsummer, 1726.

* *Le Neve's Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, p. 412. See likewise a List printed upon a double Sheet at Cambridge, by *Fr. Webb*. *Fuller's History of Cambridge*, p. 125.

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Walter Tayler, A. M. Fellow of Trin. Coll. now
Professor; 1735.

* Mr. Chauncy was Greek Lecturer of his own College, which might probably lead Mr. Neal into the Mistake.

Neal, p. 332. *When the Puritans might not transport themselves to New England, they removed with their Families into the Low Countries. Among the Divines that went thither about this time, were Dr. Thomas Goodwin, educated in Cambridge, and a great Admirer of Dr. Preston.*

This was the Person whom Sir Philip Warwick mentions; where, speaking of Cromwell's Illness, of which he died, † ' His fulsome flattering Divines ' (*says he*) and Friends, all gave themselves assurance of his Recovery; inasmuch as Thomas Goodwin, in his saucy Expostulations with God in Prayer, would tell God, " That they asked not " for his Life; for they were assured he had too " great things for this Man to do, to remove him " yet; but they prayed for his speedy Recovery, " because his Life and Presence were necessary to " divers things, then of great moment to be dispatched."

Neal, p. 333. Philip Nye, A. M. educated in Magdalen-Hall, [entered first of Brazen-Nose. See Anthony Wood] Oxon, and a popular Preacher at St. Bartholomew's Exchange, London.

Anthony Wood tells us, || That ' in 1660, after ' his Majesty's Restoration, it was debated by the

* From the College Register of Trinity, C. C. Græcæ Grammaticæ Prælector, 1624. Car. Chauncy, Græcus Prælector 1626. The following Particulars stand likewise upon the College Register, and may be of Use to Mr. Neal. Car. Chauncy, Socius Minor, 3 Octob. 1614. Socius Major, 4 April, 1617.

† Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 388.

|| Wood's *Athenæ*, Vol. II. p. 369.

' healing Parliament, for several Hours together,
 ' whether he [*Philip Nye*] and *John Goodwin*, that
 ' infamous and black-mouth'd *Independent*, should
 ' be excepted for Life, because they had acted so
 ' highly (none more, except *Hugh Peters*) against
 ' the King, and had been instrumental in bringing
 ' all things into Confusion. At length it came to
 ' this Result, " That if *Philip Nye* Clerk, should,
 ' after the first of *September* in the same Year, ac-
 ' cept or exercise any Office Ecclesiastical, Civil,
 ' or Military, he should, to all Intents and Pur-
 ' poses in Law, stand as if he had been totally ex-
 ' cepted for Life." In *November* 1662, he was
 ' vehemently suspected to be in that Plot, for
 ' which *George Philips*, *Thomas Tongue*, &c. were
 ' executed; but how he freed himself from that
 ' Suspicion, I know not. Sure it is, that he was a
 ' most dangerous and seditious Person, a politick
 ' Pulpit-Driver of Independency, an insatiable Esu-
 ' rient after Riches, and what not, to raise a Fa-
 ' mily, and to heap up Wealth.'

* *Heylin* says, (from *Edwards's Gangræna*) ' That
 ' *Nye* and *Goodwin* retired to *Arnheim*, a Town in
 ' *Gelderland*, &c. where their Preachers did not
 ' think they had done enough in confirming their
 ' new Church to the Pattern of the *Mount*, if it
 ' were not *Apostolical* in the highest Perfection:
 ' to which end, they not only admitted of Hymns
 ' and Prophefying, which the Sister Congrega-
 ' tions had not entertained, but of Widows and
 ' the Holy Kiss, cashier'd for the avoiding of
 ' Scandal in the primitive Times; yea, of Extreme
 ' Unction also. The Exercise whereof, by *Kiffin*
 ' and *Patients*, I had rather the Reader should take
 ' out of the *Gangræna*, than expect from me.'

Neal, *ibid.* *Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs*, a most
 candid and moderate Divine, educated in Cambridge,

* *Cyprianus Anglicus*, p. 345.

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and afterwards a famous Preacher to two of the largest Congregations in London, viz. Stepney and Cripple-gate.

I leave the Reader to judge of his great *Candour* and *Moderation*, from the following Passages in one of his Sermons: 'Such Tygers have we had of late among us; Tygers in Rage and Cruelty against the *Saints*, the sweet Savour of their Grace so delightful to God, made them rage against them; and now the sweet Savour of their Comforts, their Peace, their Liberties, make them rage again.' *Burroughs* before the Commons, September 7, 1641. p. 8. Member of the Assembly of Divines.

'Tho' Christ be a Bundle of Myrrh, in which there is Bitterness, yet he is the Well-beloved of his Church, and he shall lie all night between her Breasts.' *Ibid.* p. 11.

'Surely Prayer hath been the Midwife to help to bring forth these Mercies. What is it that brought forth? It is a Mercy, full of Strength and Vigour, that presently crusheth these *Babylonish* Brats of Innovation lately hatched, and promiseth great Mercy to us; a Mercy that is the Foundation of Mercies to the Generation to come; such a Mercy, as is beyond the Parallel of any Mercy, which *England* ever had since the Gospel came into it.' *Ibid.* p. 43.

Neal, ibid. Mr. William Bridge, *M. A.* Fellow of Emanuel College, Cambridge; he settled in the City of Norwich, in the Parish of St. George Tomland, where he continued, till he was silenced for Non-conformity by Bishop Wren, in the Year 1637, and excommunicated.

The Republican Spirit of Bridge appears from the following Passage: 'The King must not only command according to God's Law, but Man's Laws; and if he don't so command, Resistance

‘ sistance is not Resistance of *Power*, but *Will*.
 ‘ To say, that such Resistance must only be de-
 ‘ fensive, is Nonsense ; for so a Man may be ever
 ‘ resisting, and never resist.’ *William Bridge’s*
 Fast-Sermon before the Commons, *December 26.*
 1648. p. 18. Member of the Assembly of Divines.

Neal, *ibid.* Mr. Sidrach Sympson, educated in
 Cambridge, and afterwards a celebrated Preacher in
 London.

That he was a celebrated Preacher of rebellious
 Principles, is plain from the following Passage :

‘ Reformation (*says he*) is liable to inhuman
 ‘ Treacheries: *Pharaoh’s* Dealing was very trea-
 ‘ cherous ; he bade the People go, gave them Li-
 ‘ berty by *Proclamation* ; when he had got them
 ‘ at an advantage, he brought up an Army to
 ‘ cut them off. The reforming the Church will
 ‘ meet with such kind of Enemies.’ *Sidrach*
Sympson’s Fast-Sermon before the Commons, *July*
26. 1643. p. 7. Member of the Assembly of Di-
 vines.

Neal, p. 334. *The Eyes of all England were now*
towards the North, where the King went March 27,
to put himself at the Head of his Army raised against
the Scots.

Lord *Clarendon* tells us, * ‘ That before the
 ‘ King left *York*, Letters and Addresses were sent
 ‘ from the *Scots*, lamenting their ill Fortune, that
 ‘ their Enemies had so great Credit with the King ;
 ‘ and to persuade him to believe, that they neither
 ‘ were or could be disobedient to him, a thing
 ‘ that could never enter into their loyal Hearts ;
 ‘ they desired nothing but to be admitted into the
 ‘ presence of their gracious Sovereign, to lay their
 ‘ Grievances at his Royal Feet, and leave the De-
 ‘ termination of them entirely to his own Wisdom

* History of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 94.

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‘and Pleasure.’ * ‘By which, says Bishop Kennet, they gain’d their Ends of Time and Popularity, and even Pity from their Enemies; but all the while their Preparations were so increas’g, that the King thought it necessary to march towards the Borders of Scotland, &c.’

Neal, ibid. Both Armies were to be disbanded, &c. Accordingly the King dismiss’d his Army, but with very disobliging Circumstances, not giving the Nobility and Gentry so much as Thanks for their Affection, Loyalty, and personal Attendance.

† ‘The King’s Army, by the very Words of the Agreement, was not to be disbanded, until all should be executed on their parts; and the King at that time resolv’d to be present at the Assembly at least, if not the Parliament: but the Impatience of all was, such for Peace, that the King’s Army was immediately disbanded.’

Neal, p. 335. The Scots delivered back the King’s Forts and Castles into his Majesty’s hands, but wisely kept their Officers in Pay, till they saw the Effect of the Pacification.

What a Clamour should we have had, if the King had done so! no Words would have been thought severe enough by Mr. Neal, to express his Resentment. But what would have been a Crime in the King, he cannot account so in his darling and beloved *Covenanters*.

Bishop Kennet informs us, (p. 92.) ‘That the Scots kept all their Officers, and as many of their Men as they thought fit, in Pay; and prosecuted all those, who had not shew’d the same Zeal in their Covenant, and entred a publick Protestation against the Bishops, &c. So that by the time that the King came to London, it appear’d very plainly, that the Army was disbanded, without any Peace

* Bishop Kennet’s Collections, Vol. III. p. 91.

† Clarendon; Vol. I. p. 98.

‘made,

‘made, and the Scots in equal Inclination, and
 ‘more Reputation to affront his Majesty than
 ‘ever.’

Neal, p. 336. *The Scots Parliament met August 31, and having first subscribed the Solemn League and Covenant, with the King's Consent, they confirmed all the Acts of the General-Assembly, concluding with the utter Extirpation of Episcopacy, as unlawful. But the King having, by his Commissioner, forbid him to consent to the Word unlawful, lest it should be interpreted absolutely, tho' it seems to have a reference to the Kirk of Scotland, his Lordship prorogued the Parliament, first for fourteen Days, and then, by the King's exprefs Command, for nine Months, without ratifying any of their Acts.*

* ‘Thus you have our Pleasure, (saith the King, in his Letter to the Earl of Traquair) fully signified in every Particular of your Letter, which you will find no ways contrary to our Resolution taken at Berwick, and our Instructions given to you there. But if the Madness of our Subjects be such, that they will not rest satisfied with what we have given you Power and Authority to condescend to, which, notwithstanding all their Informations, we shall allow you to make good to them; we take God to witness, that what Misery soever shall fall to that Country hereafter, it is no Fault of ours, but their own Procurement. And hereupon we do command you, that if you cannot compose this Business according to our Instructions, and what we have now written, that you prorogue the Parliament till the next Spring, and that you may think of some Course how you may make publick to all our Subjects, what we have given you power to condescend to, &c.’

Neal, p. 340. *The Parliament that met at Westminster (says the noble Historian) was made up of*

* *Nelson*, p. 255. *Kennet*, p. 92.

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sober and dispassionate Men, exceedingly disposed to do the King Service; and yet his Majesty would not condescend to speak to them from the Throne, but ordered the Lord-Keeper Finch to acquaint them, with the undutiful Behaviour of the Scots, whom he was determined to reduce, and therefore would not admit the Mediation of the two Houses, but expected their immediate Assistance, after which he would give them Time to consider of any just Grievances to be redress'd.

* After the King had shortly mentioned his Desire to be again acquainted with Parliaments after so long an Intermission; and to receive the Advice and Assistance of his Subjects there: He referred the Cause of the present Convention to be enlarged upon by the Lord-Keeper, who related the whole Proceedings of Scotland.' 'Tis plain from hence, That his Majesty did condescend to speak to them from the Throne.

Neal, p. 341. But the Commons, instead of beginning with the Supply, appointed Committees for Religion and Grievances, which disobligh'd the King so much, that after several fruitless Attempts to persuade them to begin with the Subsidy Bill, he dissolved them in anger, without passing a single Act, after they had sat six Weeks.

Lord Clarendon informs us †, That the House of Peers advised the Commons to begin with the Supply, which was voted a Breach of Privilege by the Commons.

Neal, *ibid.* The Blame of this hasty Dissolution was by some cast upon Laud, by others upon Sir Harry Vane; but the King laid it upon the House of Commons, who would not take his Royal Word for Redress of Grievances.

* Lord Clarendon's History, p. 104. Kennet, p. 95. Rapin, p. 400, 409.

† Lord Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 106.

* ‘ His Majesty (says Lord *Clarendon*) sent this
 ‘ Message in writing to the Commons by Sir *Henry*
 ‘ *Vane*, That having heard that the Payment of
 ‘ Ship-Money, notwithstanding it was adjudged his
 ‘ Right, was not willingly submitted to by the Peo-
 ‘ ple; to manifest therefore his good Affections to
 ‘ his Subjects in general, he made this Proposition,
 ‘ That if the Parliament would grant him Twelve
 ‘ Subsidies to be paid in Three Years in the man-
 ‘ ner propos’d, (that was, Five Subsidies to be paid
 ‘ the first Year, four the second, and three to be
 ‘ paid the last Year) his Majesty would then re-
 ‘ lease all his Title or Pretence to Ship-Money for
 ‘ the future, in such a manner, as his Parliament
 ‘ should advise.’

And in another Place, p. 108. † ‘ That Ser-
 ‘ jeant *Glanville* the Speaker, in a most pathetic
 ‘ Speech, in which he excelled, endeavour’d to
 ‘ persuade the House, “ To comply with the
 ‘ “ King’s Desire, for the good of the Nation, and
 ‘ “ to reconcile him to Parliaments for ever, which
 ‘ “ this seasonable Testimony of their Affections
 ‘ “ would infallibly do. He made it manifest unto
 ‘ them how very inconsiderable a Sum *Twelve*
 ‘ *Subsidies* amounted to, by telling them, That
 ‘ he had computed what he was to pay for those
 ‘ *Twelve Subsidies*, and having named the Sum, he
 ‘ being known to be possessed of a great Estate, it
 ‘ seem’d not worth any farther Deliberation.’

Sir *William Dugdale* speaks as follows; ‡ ‘ His
 ‘ Majesty declared to both Houses the Indignities
 ‘ receiv’d from his *Scotish* Subjects, and to suppress
 ‘ their Rebellion, propos’d a Supply of *Twelve Sub-*
 ‘ *sidies*; in lieu whereof, he was content to forbear

* Lord *Clarendon*’s History, Vol. I. p. 107.

† *Ibid.* p. 108.

‡ *Dugdale*’s Short View of the Troubles, p. 61.

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‘ Ship-Money, than which nothing seem’d so grievous.’

‘ Had not that Parliament been broke by the subtil Artifices of the grand Contrivers in the immediate Rebellion; no doubt, but all those Miseries which were thereby soon after brought upon this Realm, might have been easily prevented: And that the Breach thereof was wrought by them, is plain enough. For Sir *Henry Vane senior*, a Member of the House of Commons at that time, (and one of his Majesty’s principal Secretaries of State) having by the King’s Appointment moved for a Supply of *Twelve Subsidies*; yet with a Power to stoop to eight: when he saw an Inclination of the House tending thereto (first by a Proposal of four, then five, nay six were mentioned, and the Motion not dislik’d) told them peremptorily, *That it was in vain for them to think of less than twelve, in regard he knew, under that Number would not be accepted.* And having, by that sinister Dealing, kept such distance betwixt his Majesty, and his good Subjects, was by some other of the Faction so seconded, with a hideous Representation of their Grievances, together with dangerous Innovations in Religion, and Fears of introducing Superstition; besides certain Motions as did not (without Cause) put strange apprehensions in the Queen, of Peril to her Person, that his Majesty was constrain’d to dissolve that Parliament: for a farther Proof of which, I refer the Reader to the Authorities in the * Margin.’

Neal, *ibid.* *The Clergy in Convocation gave Six Subsidies.* ‘ During this Parliament (says Arch-

* Sir Philip Warwick’s Memoirs, p. 147. Orleans’s History of the Revolutions in England, p. 312. Kennet, p. 96. Rapin, p. 417. Whitlock’s Memorial, p. 32. Frankland’s Annals, p. 831.

‘ bishop *Laud*, Trial and Troubles, p. 79.) the
 ‘ Clergy had agreed in Convocation to give his Ma-
 ‘ jesty *Six Subsidies* payable in six Years, which
 ‘ came to 20,000 l. a Year for six Years. But
 ‘ the Act of it was not made up.’

Again, p. 80. ‘ They made it up afterwards,
 ‘ and therein followed a Precedent in Archbishop
 ‘ *Whitgift's Time*, Ann. 1586.’

Neal, p. 348. Canon 4. (of 1640.) against Soci-
 nianism, it is decreed, That no Person shall import,
 print or disperse any of their Books upon pain of Ex-
 communication, &c. No Minister shall preach any
 such Doctrines in his Sermons, nor Student have any
 such Books in his Study, except he be a Graduate in
 Divinity.

‘ Or such as have *Episcopal*, or *Archidiaconal* Ju-
 ‘ risdiction, or any Doctor of Laws in Orders, as
 ‘ is aforesaid.’ Omitted by Mr. *Neal*.

Neal, *ibid.* N. B. None of the Doctrines of Soci-
 nus, nor any of his peculiar Sentiments, are mentioned
 in this Canon.

This wise N. B. is not surely our Historian's ;
 he might as well have objected against the forego-
 ing Canon, because the Doctrines of *Popery* are not
 specified.

Neal, p. 349. ‘ In his Majesty's Duplicate of
 this Canon [viz. the Sixth] sent by the Archbishop to
 the Bishop of Ely, the Word [Popish] is omitted, as
 it is in the Duplicate sent to the Vicechancellor of Cam-
 bridge, and several others. *Nelson*, p. 499.

From the place referr'd to in *Nelson*, it appears,
 that the Omission was complained of by Bishop
Wren and Dr. *Cousins*, which shews, how little they
 were inclined to *Popery*, a Brand he has all along
 been endeavouring to fix upon them. So that his
 Note turns directly against him.

Neal, p. 350. It is ordain'd, that all that are incor-
 porated in either of the Universities, or take any Degree,
 whether

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whether Lawyers, Divines, or Physicians, shall take the same Oath.

The Sons of Noblemen are expressly excepted, in the Canon.

Neal, *ibid.* Canon 7: *The Synod declares, that the standing of the Communion-Table, sideways, under the East Window of the Chancel or Chapel, is in its own Nature indifferent: But forasmuch as Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions order it to be placed where the Altar was, we therefore judge it proper, that all Churches and Chappels do conform themselves to the Cathedral or Mother-Churches.*

The Canon begins thus: ' Because it is generally to be wish'd, that Unity of Faith were accompanied with Uniformity of Practice in the outward Worship and Service of God, chiefly for the avoiding of the groundless Suspicions of those who are weak, and the malicious Aspersions of the professed Enemies of our Religion, the one fearing the Innovations, the other flattering themselves with the vain Hope of our backsliding unto their *Papish* Superstition, by reason of the Situation of the Communion-Table, and the Approaches thereunto; the Synod declares as follows.

Neal, p. 352. *No Chancellor, Commissary or Official, not being in Holy Orders, shall inflict any Censure upon the Clergy in criminal Causes, other than Neglect of appearing; but all such Causes shall be heard by the Bishop, or some dignified Clergyman with the Chancellor.*

The Words in the Canon; ' That all such Causes shall be heard by the Bishop in Person, or with the Assistance of his Chancellor, or Commissary; or if the Bishop's Occasions will not permit, then by his Chancellor or Commissary, and two grave dignified, or beneficed Ministers of the Diocese, to be assigned by the Bishop under his episcopal Seal; who shall hear and censure the said Cause in the Consistory.'

Neal, ibid. Canon 15. Of Jurisdictions.

The Title, 'Touching concurrent Jurisdictions.'

Neal, p. 353. When these Canons were made publick, they were generally disliked, several Pamphlets were printed against them, and dispersed among the People.

* ' These were the Canons (says *Nelson*) which
' occasion'd afterwards such great Debates, and so
' much Persecution to the Bishops, and loyal part
' of the Clergy, who were accused of a Design to
' bring in *Popery*, Superstition, and Innovations
' into the Church; though nothing is more evident,
' than that whatsoever their other Faults were, in
' these Canons, one of their greatest Crimes was
' their endeavouring for ever to shut the Doors
' against *Presbytery*, Profaneness, and that Deluge
' of Innovations and Errors which at the same time
' invaded and overthrew both Church and State;
' and if they were under Mistakes, it was not in
' their Intention. But the greatest Offence, and
' wherein they had exceeded the Limits of their
' Power, was the granting of this Benevolence or
' Contribution to assist his Majesty against the rebel-
' lious Covenanters in *Scotland*, whose Principles and
' Proceedings were now so very dear to the now-
' prevailing Party in the Parliament, that to op-
' pose them was a Sin unpardonable.'

*Neal, p. 358. Three considerable Divines of a
very different Character died about this time; Mr.
John Ball educated in Brazen-Nose College Oxon, &c.
He was a learned and pious Man, deserving as high
Esteem (says Mr. Baxter) as the best Bishop in Eng-
land, &c. Though he lived and died a Nonconformist,
he was against a Separation, and writ against Mr.
Can, and Mr. Robinson, upon that head. His last
Work, entitled, A Stay against Straying, was sub-*

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scribed by five most noted Presbyterian Divines, who all testified, That he died abundantly satisfied with the Cause of Nonconformity, which he distinguished from Separation.

* After our Author Ball (says Anthony Wood) had finished this last Book, he undertook a large Treatise of the Church, wherein he intended to discover the Nature of Schism, and to deal in the main Controversies touching the Essence and Government of the visible Church, of which also Fifty Sheets of Paper he left finished. Notwithstanding all this, yet by what our Author hath written in his Answer to *Jo. Can.* and in his friendly Trial, &c. some dividing Spirits of his own Party censured him, as in some degree declining from his former profest *Inconformity*, in deserting the *Nonconformists* Cause and Grounds; being too much inclined (especially in the last of these two) to favour the Times, in Ceremonies and in the Service-Book. Yet if you'll give credit to what these Men [*viz. the five noted Presbyterian Divines*] deliver, they'll tell you, that he lived and died a strict Forbearer, and constant Opposer of all those pretended Corruptions, which the *Nonconformists* had commonly in their publick Writings disallow'd in the Church of *England*. So that they of his own Persuasion, would willingly have it believ'd, that although he was in these his Pieces, against aggravating and multiplying conceiv'd Corruptions, and that these were not of so great weight, as to inforce the Unlawfulness of our set Forms, or warrant a Separation from our Churches, and publick Worship in regard thereof; yet he acknowledged some things blame-worthy in the *English* Liturgy, which he designed to have evidenced (as these

“ Men tell us) in some publick Treatise, had he
 “ lived but a little longer. For all this, he died
 “ abundantly satisfied in the Justness of that Cause,
 “ which he so well defended against Separation.”

His Treatise, intituled, *A friendly Treatise of the
 Grounds tending to Separation. In a plain and mo-
 dest Dispute touching the Lawfulness of a stinted Li-
 turgy, and set Form of Prayer, Communion in mix'd
 Assemblies, and the primitive Subject, and first Recep-
 tacle of the Power of the Keys. Tending to satisfy
 the Doubtful, recall the Wandring, and strengthen the
 Weak.* By John Ball. Printed at Cambridge by
 Roger Daniel, 1640. 4°. Shews him to be a Man
 of a quite different Spirit from the Presbyterians of
 those times, not excepting the five noted Presby-
 terian Divines, who subscribed his last Work.

Neal, p. 361. *We are now entering upon the Pro-
 ceedings of the Long Parliament, &c. The Members
 were made up chiefly of Country Gentlemen, who had
 no Attachment to the Court, &c. Mr. Echard insi-
 nuates some unfair Methods of Elections, which might
 be true on both sides.*

* Lord Clarendon takes notice, “ That some
 “ Men, who six Months before were observed to
 “ be of very moderate Tempers, and to wish, that
 “ gentle Remedies might be applied, without ope-
 “ ning the Wound too wide, or exposing it to the
 “ Air, and rather to cure what was amiss, than too
 “ strictly to make Inquisition into the Causes and
 “ Original of the Malady, talk'd now in another
 “ Dialect, both of Things and Persons, and said,
 “ That they must now be of another Temper,
 “ than they were the last Parliament; that they
 “ must not only sweep the House clean below, but
 “ must pull down all the Cobwebs which hung in
 “ the Top, and Corners, that they might not

* Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 136.

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“ breed Dust, and so make the House foul here-
“ after ; that they had now an opportunity to
“ make their Country happy, by removing all
“ Grievances, and pulling up the Causes of them
“ by the Roots, if all Men would do their Duties.”
“ And used much other sharp Discourse to the same
“ purpose ; by which it was discerned, that the
“ warmest and boldest Counsels and Overtures
“ would find a much better Reception, than those
“ of a more temperate Allay ; which fell out ac-
“ cordingly.”

And Mr. Echard, * “ That scarce a Sectary in
“ London but had, before the Meeting of the Par-
“ liament, furnished himself with Arms, to serve
“ each Boy in his House, and many Porters Loads
“ of Muskets had been seen carried in the Evenings
“ into the Houses of Men notoriously disaffected,
“ who convey’d both Arms and Libels, printed at
“ the publick Charge, to their Country Associates.
“ Nor durst the Lord Mayor make Inquisition, for
“ fear of being accounted an Enemy to the Peace of
“ the Kingdom, then discomposed with Fears and
“ Jealousies of *Papists*, and other Enemies. Then
“ at the Elections they shew’d the utmost Skill and
“ Diligence, and rode from County to County,
“ with that Success, that the Earl of *Warwick* wrote
“ from *York*, to his Friends in *Effex*, that the Game
“ was well begun. But the Danger of the true Re-
“ ligion was most of all cried up, and had a pro-
“ digious Influence upon the inferior sort. Of this
“ Mr. *Hampden* was justly sensible, when in answer
“ to a private Friend, who ask’d him, *why they*
“ *pretended Religion, when Liberty, Property, and*
“ *temporal Matters were the chief Ends?* he replied,
“ *Should we not use the Pretence of Religion, the*
“ *People would not be persuaded to assist us.* For this
“ reason, they exclaim’d against any who belong’d

‘ to his Majesty’s Service, and gave Votes for
 ‘ Men of the new Religion, and notorious Op-
 ‘ posers of the King and Clergy, whose Names
 ‘ they had before privately listed; by which divers
 ‘ Citizens and Lawyers were chosen Members for
 ‘ those Corporations, which never so much as
 ‘ heard of them. These, and many other uncom-
 ‘ mon Practices were made use of, to defeat the
 ‘ King’s Friends.’

Neal, ibid. But both he [Mr. Echard] and Lord Clarendon admit, that there were many great and worthy Patriots in the House, and as eminent as any Age had ever produced; Men of Gravity, of Wisdom, and of great and plentiful Fortunes, who would have been satisfied with some few Amendments in Church and State.

Mr. Echard’s Words, (p. 189.) ‘ Yet this ought
 ‘ to be declared, that there were still many great
 ‘ and worthy Men, as eminent as any Age ever
 ‘ produced: but most of them came with Resent-
 ‘ ments, which, tho’ grounded on just Reasons,
 ‘ proved too strong for their Wisdom and Fore-
 ‘ sight, and help’d to overwhelm themselves in
 ‘ the common Ruin. They had unquestionably
 ‘ several Grievances to redress; but few of them
 ‘ were able to apply the right Cures, or to stop
 ‘ when the End was actually obtain’d. In short,
 ‘ they could not enough guess at the Consequences
 ‘ of violent Methods, nor yet see, that while they
 ‘ were defeating their Enemies, they were hasten-
 ‘ ing on their own Ruin.’

Milton (our Historian cannot but know) was far from being a Friend to the *Royal Cause*, being
 * *Latin Secretary to the Rump Parliament*, and afterwards to *Oliver Cromwell*; and having wrote in defence of *Smeftymnus*; *Iconoclastes*, in answer to *Εἰκων Βασιλική*; a Defence of the King’s Murder,

* *Toland’s Life of Milton*, p. 80, 81.

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against *Salmasius*, and others. * His Character of the *Long Parliament*, and Assembly of Divines, published in two Sheets, at *London*, by *Brome*, 1681. (and mentioned amongst his Works by *Anthony Wood*, *Fasti Oxon.* Vol. I. p. 883.) must carry some little weight with it, even in the Opinion of our *learned Historian*.

‘ Of those, *says he*, who sway’d most in the late Troubles, few Words as to this Point may suffice. They had Arms, Leaders, and Successes to their wish; but to make use of so great an advantage, was not their Skill.

‘ A Parliament being called to redress many things, as ’twas thought, the People, with great Courage, and Expectation to be eased of what discontented them, chose to their behoof in Parliament, such as they thought best affected to the publick Good; and some indeed Men of Wisdom and Integrity; the rest, [to be sure the greater part] whom Wealth, or ample Possessions, or bold and active Ambition [rather than Merit] had commended to the same place. But when once the superficial Zeal, and popular Fumes that acted their new Magistracy, were cool’d, and spent in them, straight every one betook himself, setting the Common-wealth behind, his private Ends before, to do as his own Profit or Ambition led him. Then was Justice delayed, and soon after denied; Spight and Favour determined all; hence Faction, thence Treachery, both at home, and in the Field: every where Wrong and Oppression; foul and horrid Deeds committed daily, or maintain’d in secret, or in open. Some who had been called from Shops and Ware-houses, without other Merit, to sit in supreme Councils, and Committees, [as their Breeding was] fell to *Huckster*

* *Penes me.*

' the Common-wealth. Others did thereafter, as
 ' Men could sooth and humour them best; so he
 ' who would give most, or under Covert of Hy-
 ' pocritical Zeal, insinuate basest, enjoy'd unwor-
 ' thily the Rewards of Learning and Fidelity, or
 ' escaped the Punishment of his Crimes, and Mis-
 ' deeds. Their Votes and Ordinances which Men
 ' look'd should have contain'd the repealing of bad
 ' Laws, and the immediate Constitution of better,
 ' refounded with nothing else, but new Imposi-
 ' tions, Taxes, Excises, yearly, monthly, weekly.
 ' Not to reckon the Offices, Gifts, and Prefer-
 ' ments bestowed and shared among themselves:
 ' they, in the mean while, who were ever faith-
 ' fullest to this Cause, and freely aided them in
 ' Person, or with their Substance, when they
 ' durst not compel either, slighted and bereaved
 ' after of their just Debts, by greedy Sequestra-
 ' tions, were tossed up and down, after miserable
 ' Attendance, from one Committee to another,
 ' with Petitions in their hands; yet either mist the
 ' obtaining of their Suit, or though it were at
 ' length granted, [mere Shame and Reason oft-
 ' times extorting from them, at least, a Shew of
 ' Justice,] yet, by their Sequestrations and Sub-
 ' Committees abroad, Men for the most part of
 ' insatiable hands, and noted Disloyalty, those
 ' Orders were commonly disobey'd; which, for
 ' certain, durst not have been without secret Com-
 ' pliance, if not Compact, with some Superiors
 ' able to bear them out. Thus were their Friends
 ' confiscate in their Enemies, while they forfeited
 ' their Debtors to the State, as they call'd it, but
 ' indeed to the ravening Seizure of innumerable
 ' Thieves in Office; yet were withal no less bur-
 ' dened in all extraordinary Assessments and Op-
 ' pressions, than those whom they took to be dis-
 ' affected: nor were we happier Creditors to what

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we called the State, than to them who were sequestred as the State's Enemies: for that Faith which ought to have been kept as sacred and inviolable, as any thing holy, the *publick Faith*, after infinite Sums received, and all the Wealth of the Church not better employed, but swallowed up into a private *Gulph*, was not e'er long ashamed to confess Bankrupt. And now, besides the Sweetness of Bribery, and other Gain, with the Love of Rule, their own Guiltiness, and the dread Name of *just Accounts*, which the People had long call'd for, discovered plainly, that there were of their own number, who secretly contrived and fomented those Troubles and Combustions in the Land, which openly they sate to remedy; and would continually find such Work, as should keep them from being ever brought to that *terrible Stand*, of laying down their Authority, for lack of new Business, or not drawing out to any length of time, tho' upon the Ruin of a whole Nation.'

This is the *darling Parliament* which our Historian cries up on all Occasions, and has stiled in another place, (p. 607.) *The Patriots of the Constitution*.

Neal, p. 367. *The Parliament was opened November 3, with a most gracious Speech from the Throne, wherein his Majesty declares, he would concur with them in satisfying their just Grievances, leaving it to them where to begin. Only some Offence was taken at his Majesty's calling the Scots Rebels, at a time when there was a Pacification with them; upon which his Majesty came to the House, and, instead of softening his Language, very imprudently avowed the Expression, saying, he could neither call them better nor worse.*

' His Majesty (says Heylin, *Cyprianus Anglicus*, p. 430.) finding into what a Condition he had cast himself, was fain to call both Houses before him,

‘ him, within two Days after, [*Reliq. Sacr. Carol*
‘ p. 3.] there to explain, or rather to retract so
‘ harsh a Title, calling them afterwards by the
‘ Name of his Subjects of *Scotland*, as he used to
‘ do; which gave the Commons such a Sense of
‘ their Power, and of his Compliance, that they
‘ resolved to husband both, to their best advan-
‘ tage, and not so easily part with their Friends of
‘ *Scotland*, as his Majesty hoped they would.’

Neal, *ibid.* *The Houses petitioned his Majesty, to*
appoint a Fast for a Divine Blessing upon their Coun-
sels, which was observed November 17. The Reve-
rend Mr. Marshal and Mr. Burges preached before
the Commons; the Sermons were long, but delivered
with a great deal of Caution. The Houses gave them
Thanks, and a Piece of Plate for their Labours.

And no doubt, (in *Mr. Neal's* Opinion) they
very well deserv'd it: ‘ The Scope and Drift of
‘ both these Sermons, (says *Nelson*, Vol. I. p. 530.)
‘ was, by consent between them, levelled at the
‘ same Mark, which was a holy Covenant; which,
‘ in the Epistle Dedicatory, they affirm is the Sum
‘ of both their Sermons. He says, it was suspi-
‘ cious, that notwithstanding all their fair Pre-
‘ tences, with which they covered their Designs,
‘ they were now possessed of those Resolutions, of
‘ reforming after the Model of *Scotland*, by Extir-
‘ pation of Episcopacy, *Root and Branch.*’

One Expression in *Burges's* Sermon: ‘ 5th, Con-
‘ sider that the Devil himself will have a Covenant
‘ with all his Vassals, that expect any extraordi-
‘ nary Matters from him; there is not a *Witch*,
‘ that hath the *Devil* at her Beck, but she must
‘ seal a Covenant with him, sometimes with her
‘ Blood.’

Neal, p. 368. *Among the Grievances of Re-*
ligion, one of the first things that came before the
House, was the Acts and Canons of the late Convo-
cation.

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ation. Several warm Speeches were made against the Compilers; Lord Digby, who was yet with the Country Party, stood up, and said, "Does not every Parliament-Man's Heart rise, to see the Prelates usurping to themselves the grand Pre-eminence of Parliaments, the granting Subsidies under the Name of Benevolence, under no less Penalty to them that refuse it, than the loss of Heaven and Earth? &c."

* Collier says; 'Notwithstanding these tragical Expressions, the Clergy had always the Privilege of taxing their own Body. Neither from *Magna Charta*, to the 37th Henry VIII. is there any Parliamentary Confirmation of Subsidies given by the Clergy; for what reason this Custom was afterwards altered, is not easy to account for: nay, there is an Instance in Queen Elizabeth's time, 1585, when the Convocation granted a Subsidy or Benevolence, and levied the Money by synodical Authority. In the Instrument signed and sealed by the Electors for Convocation, they engage themselves to abide by the Proceedings of their Clerks and Proctors † *se ratum, gratum, & acceptum habere, quicquid dicti procuratores sui dixerint, fecerint, vel constituerint.*'

Neal, p. 370. In the Saxon Times, all Ecclesiastical Laws and Constitutions were confirm'd by the Peers, and by the Representatives of the People.

I should be glad to know what Authority he has for this Assertion. The late Mr. Johnson of Cranbrook, in the Diocese of Canterbury, a Person admirably well versed in Ecclesiastical Laws, has informed us, ‡ That 'during the Time of our Saxon, and even Danish Kings, the Bishops were

* Collier, p. 795.

† Appendix to Bishop Atterbury's Rights of an English Convocation.

‡ Mr. Johnson's general Preface to his Collection of Ecclesiastical Laws, p. 35.

' in full possession of the Power of making, as well
 ' as executing *Canons*: Nor does it appear, that
 ' they ever abused it to the Hurt of the Civil Go-
 ' vernments. Our Kings were so far from appre-
 ' hending any Mischief from Ecclesiastical Synods,
 ' or from sending their Prohibitions to them, that
 ' they often honoured these Assemblies with the
 ' Presence of themselves and their Nobility, with-
 ' out interposing in their Debates, or giving any
 ' Stop or Impediment to their Definitions. The
 ' *Norman* Princes never attempted to diminish, or
 ' interrupt the Archbishop's antient Right and Prac-
 ' tice of assembling Synods, and making such *Canons*
 ' and Ecclesiastical Provisions, as were deem'd neces-
 ' sary, or seasonable. But after the *Pope* had set
 ' himself up for Sovereign in Temporals as well as
 ' Spirituals; and in order to exercise this Sove-
 ' reignty, had introduced his Canon-Law into all
 ' Nations that were in communion with him; and
 ' had a Number of Men in every Country ready
 ' to execute his Will and Pleasure, in opposition
 ' to the Civil Government, the King saw it neces-
 ' sary to check the Arrogance of the *Pope* and his
 ' Creatures here in *England*, by sending Prohibi-
 ' tions to the Bishops in their *Synods*, (that they
 ' might make no *Canons* to the Injury of the King's
 ' Prerogative, and of the Civil Constitution) and
 ' in their Courts, that they might put no such *Ca-*
 ' *nons* in execution.' Not one Word here of Eccle-
 ' siastical Laws being confirmed by the *Representa-*
 ' *tives of the People*. By which, if he means a
 ' House of Commons, he will find it difficult to
 ' make it out, That they were so represented in
 ' the *Saxon* Times. I cannot help thinking, That
 ' our present most reverend and learned Metropoli-
 ' tan has (in his State of the Church and Clergy
 ' of *England*) proved the contrary to Demonstration.

Neal,

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Neal, p. 373. To return to the Parliament, it was argued against the late Convocation, That they were no legal Assembly after the Dissolution of the Parliament; that his Majesty had no more power to continue them, than to recall his Parliament.

The Archbishop in answer observes, * ' That it is not against Law, that he knows; for we are (says he) called to sit in Convocation, by a different Writ from that, which called us as Bishops to Parliament. And we could not rise till his Majesty sent us another Writ to discharge us; and this is well known to the Judges, and the other Lawyers here present: So we continued sitting, tho' the Parliament rose. Nor was this Sitting continued by any Advice, or Desire of mine: For I humbly desired a Writ to dissolve us; but the best Counsel then present, both Judges and other Lawyers, assured the King we might legally sit, and here is a Copy attested under their Hands: † The Convocation being called by the King's Writ under the great Seal, doth continue until it be dissolved by Writ, or Commission, under the Great Seal, notwithstanding the Parliament be dissolved.'

14 March,
1640.

Jo. Finch. C. S. H. Manchester.

John Bramston.

Edward Littleton.

Ralph Whitfield.

John Bankes.

Rob. Heath.

Neal, p. 375. It was objected against the Sixth Canon, That it imposed a new Oath upon the Subject,

* Trial and Troubles, p. 282.

† Trial and Troubles, p. 80. Synodus Anglicana, p. 33.
Nelson, Vol. I. p. 365.

which

which is a Power equal, if not superior to the making a new Law.

* 'As for the Oath so bitterly spoken of, at the Bar, and in the Articles; either it was made according to Law, or else we were wholly misled by Precedent, and that such, as was never excepted against. For in the Canons made in King James's Time, there was an Oath made against Simony [Canon 40.] An Oath for Church-Wardens [Canon 118.] and an Oath about Licences for Marriages [Canon 103.] and an Oath for Judges and Ecclesiastical Courts [Canon 127.] and some of these Oaths as dangerous, as this is accounted to be, and all these established by no other Authority, than these late were. And yet, neither those Canons, nor those Oaths, were declared illegal by any ensuing Parliament, nor the Makers of them accused of any Crime, much less of Treason; so that we had in this Synod unblamed Precedent of what we did, as touching our Power of doing it.'

Neal, p. 377. *Archbishop Laud, in his Answer to the Impeachment of the Commons against himself, boldly undertakes to refute all these Objections, and to justify the whole, and every Branch of the Canons. His Words are these: "I hope I am able to make it good in any learned Assembly in Christendom, that this Oath, and all these Canons, and every Branch of them are just and orthodox, and moderate, and most necessary for the present Condition of the Church of England, how unwelcome soever to the present Distempers."*

Where does the Archbishop say this? Our Historian quotes no Authority; and as he is often faulty when he quotes Chapter and Verse, so without it, I am unwilling wholly to depend upon his bare *Ipse*

* Troubles and Trial, p. 283.

dixit. In the seventh Day's hearing, which was his Answer to the ninth additional Article against the Canons, I meet with nothing like it either in Sound or Sense. * ' Then (says the Archbishop) he, [*viz.* ' *Pryn*'] urged out of my Diary at *May* 29, 1640, ' that I acknowledged there were seventeen Canons made, which I did hope would be useful to the Church. 'Tis true, my Lords, I did hope so; and had I not hoped it, I never would have passed my consent unto them. And when I writ this, there was nothing done or said against them; and if by any Inadvertency, or human Frailty, any thing erroneous and unfit have slipped into these Canons, I humbly beseech your Lordships to remember, that it is an Article of the Church of *England*, That General Councils may err, and therefore this national Synod may mistake; and that since (if any Error be) it is not wilful, it may be rectified, and in Charity passed by.' Nor does he say it, p. 80, and 81. where he answers the Objections made against the *Convocation's* sitting, when the *Parliament* was up.

Neal, p. 378. *Bishop Kennet* in his complete History says, That these publick Censures of the Canons were grounded upon prejudice, that it is hard to find any Defect of Legality in the making of them.

And then follows, omitted by Mr. *Neal*, † ' Or any just Authority that did afterwards annul them. It is true, the Act 13 *Car.* II. cap. 12. would not confirm them, but so neither did it repeal them; they are left with the same force they had from the beginning, &c. And if the King's Licence and Confirmation does not make the Canons regularly passed in *Convocation* to be binding, without a *Parliament*, we have had no

* Trial and Troubles, p. 282.

† *Kennet*, p. 164. 1st Edition.

‘ proper Canons since the *Reformation*. Some Writers have suggested, that their Invalidity arises from their passing in *Convocation*, sitting after the Parliament: But this cannot be a Reason in the true Constitution of *Parliaments* and *Synods*, which may certainly act independently on one another.’

Neal, *ibid.* *The Earl of Bristol had acquainted the House of Lords, That the Scotch Commissioners had presented some Papers against the Archbishop of Canterbury.* P. 379. *The first Branch of their Charge consisted of divers Alterations in Religion, imposed upon them without Order, and against Law, contrary to the Form establish'd in their Kirk; as his enjoining the Bishops to appear in the Chappel in their Whites.*

* ‘ They say, I enjoin'd wearing of *Whites*, &c. Surely I understood myself a great deal better, than to *enjoin* where I have no Power; perhaps I might express that which his Majesty commanded me, when I was *Dean* of his Majesty's Chappel here; and his Majesty's express Command was, that I should take that Care upon me, that the Chappel there, and the Service, should be kept answerable to this as much as might be, and that the *Dean* should come to Prayers in this Form, as likewise other *Bishops* when they came hither: let my Letters be shewn, whether there be any other enjoining than this, and this way.’

Neal, *ibid.* *His directing the Service to be read in the Chappel twice a Day.*

† ‘ For the Direction for reading the *English* Service, it was no other than his Majesty commanded me to give: And I hope it is no Crime for a Bishop in *England*, by his Majesty's Command, to signify to a Bishop in *Scotland*, what his pleasure is for divine Service in his own Chappel.

* Trial and Troubles, p. 89.

† *Id. Ib.*

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Neal, *ibid.* His ordering a List of those Counsellors and Senators of the College of Justice, who did not communicate in the Chappel, according to a Form not receiv'd in their Kirk, to be sent up to him, in order to their being punish'd.

* ' I writ nothing in this but what I was expressly
' commanded by his Majesty : And the Thing it-
' self is no more, than if his Majesty should com-
' mand all his Judges and Counsellors here, once in
' the Year at least, to receive the Communion in
' his Chappel at *Whitehall*. And if you say it is
' more, because it was to communicate in such a
' Form as was not receiv'd in the Church of *Scot-*
' *land*; under favour, that is not so neither. For
' this Form here spoken against, was to receive it
' kneeling: And to receive the Sacrament kneeling,
' was an Article of the Synod of *Perth*, made in a
' General Assembly, and confirmed by Act of Parlia-
' ment, both then in force, when my Letters were
' written. And therefore either this Form was re-
' ceiv'd in their Kirk, which is here denied, or
' else there was little Obedience in their Kirk, and
' Kirk-Men, either to General Assembly, or Parlia-
' ment.'

Neal, *ibid.* His presumptuous censuring the Practice of the Kirk, in fasting sometimes, on the Lord's Day, as opposite to Christianity.

† ' As for the Custom in Scotland of Fasting on
' the Lord's Day, (says the Archbishop) it is not
' only sometimes, as is here express'd, but conti-
' nually; when they have any solemn Fast, the
' Lord's Day is the Day for it. And if I did write,
' that it was opposite to Christianity itself, I doubt
' it is too true. For it is against the practice of
' the whole Church of Christ: and that which is so,

* Troubles and Trials, p. 91.

† *Ib.* p. 92.

' must oppose Christianity itself. And this I find ;
 ' that as *Apostolical* universal Tradition settled the
 ' *Lord's Day* for holy and publick Worship ; so
 ' from the very Apostles times, the same general
 ' Tradition hath in all times accounted it unlawful
 ' to fast upon that Day. And if an ordinary Fast
 ' were not lawful on that Day, much less was a so-
 ' lemn. Nor is there any Thing more clear in all
 ' *Antiquity*. For in the Canons of the *Apostles*
 ' (which if they be not theirs, are very antient) if a
 ' Priest did fast upon the Lord's Day, he was to be
 ' deposed ; and if a Layman, he was to be excom-
 ' municated. And Saint *Ignatius* tells us, if any
 ' Man fast upon the Lord's Day, he is *Christ's In-*
 ' *tersector, a Murderer of Christ* ; and that I am
 ' sure is against *Christianity* itself. *Tertullian* pro-
 ' fesses it is altogether unlawful. The Council of
 ' *Gangra* held *Ann.* 324. decreed against it, and set
 ' an *Anathema* upon it ; and that not only when
 ' it was done in contempt of the Day, but also
 ' though it be done as a Help to Continency. And
 ' Saint *Hilary* agrees with this, and calls it not a
 ' Custom, but a Constitution ; such a Constitution,
 ' as that if any Man shall advisedly, and on set pur-
 ' pose, fast on the Lord's Day, by the Decree of
 ' the fourth Council of *Carthage*, he should not be
 ' accounted a *Catholic*. And they must needs do
 ' it advisedly and of set purpose, who appoint a
 ' publick solemn Fast upon that Day, and then
 ' keep it. And this was so strictly observed in
 ' Saint *Ambrose's* Time, that it was not held lawful
 ' to fast upon that Day, no not in Lent. Nay, he
 ' goes farther, and says expressly, if any Man
 ' make a Law or give a Command for fasting on
 ' the *Lord's Day*, he believes not in the Resurrec-
 ' tion of Christ. And is not this opposite to *Chri-*
 ' *stianity* itself? With him Saint *Augustin* joins very
 ' fully ; and first says, 'tis a great Scandal : Then
 ' he

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he gives the Reason of it; because *Christ* join'd mourning, with fasting, which becomes not this Day; unless Men think 'tis fit to be sorry that *Christ* is risen from the Dead. And this I am sure is opposite to *Christianity* itself: For if *Christ* be not risen, then is our Preaching vain, and your Faith is also vain. After this, he asks this Question, *Who doth not offend God, if with the Scandal of the whole Church of Christ, he will fast upon the Lord's Day?* I will not go lower down, this is enough, if any thing be. Yet this I will add, that as this fasting on *Sunday* was anciently prohibited; so was it never practised of old, but by notorious and professed *Hereticks*; as by the *Manichees*, who appointed that Day for fasting, and were justly condemn'd for it; and by *Aerians*, who fasted on *Sunday*, and feasted on *Fridays*. And by the *Priscillianists*, whom *Saint Augustin* therefore calls the Imitators of the *Manichees*, and so they are indeed: for neither of them believ'd, that our *blessed Saviour* was a true Man; and therefore regarded not the Day of his Resurrection, as appears in *Saint Leo*. And as against these the Council held at *Cæsar Augusta*, *Ann.* 381. provided, so before, *Ann.* 324. the Council of *Gangra*, made their Canon against *Eutactus* the *Armenian Monk*, and his ground was Pre- tence of Abstinence, as if he could never fast enough. This is enough, and all this within the compass of the *Primitive Church*; which certainly if these Men did not scorn, they would never have urged this against me.

And now I desire to know from *Mr. Neal* himself, where the Presumption lay, in censuring the Practice of his dear *Kirk of Scotland* for fasting on the *Lord's Day*, as opposite to *Christianity*?

Mr. Neal has given us all the Objections of the *Scots* against the Archbishop, and I am so old-fa-

shion'd a Person, as to think, that the Archbishop's Answers to their Objections should likewise have been produced by an impartial Historian.

Neal, ibid. His obtaining Warrants for the sitting of the High-Commission Court once a Week at Edinburgh.

* ' This was not (says the Archbishop) of my procuring. A *Scotchman* of good place, was employ'd about it from the Bishops, and effected it, and I could name him; but since it is here charged as a Fault I shall accuse no Man else, but defend myself. But for the establishing of that Court in that Kingdom, that was done long before I was a Bishop, or had any thing to do in the Publick. For it appears by one of the greatest *Factionists* in that Kingdom, [*Calderwood Altar. Damasc. p. 28.*] That the High-Commission Court was settled, and in full execution in the Church of *Scotland* in the Year 1610. when all Men know, I led a private Life in *Oxford*; by which it is more than manifest, that I neither was, or could be Author of this pretended *Novation*, or any Disturbances that followed from it.'

Neal, ibid. His directing the taking down of Galleries and Stone-Walls in the Kirks of Edinburgh, and St. Andrews, to make way for Altars, and Adoration towards the East.

† ' As for the taking down of the Galleries of *St. Andrews*, to the utermost of my Memory, I neither gave Command or Direction, nor can it stand with any shew of Probability, that I should command the taking down of Galleries in *St. Andrews*, where I had nothing to do, and let Galleries stand in so many Churches in *London*, and other Parts of my Province, where I had Power,

* Troubles and Trial, p. 94.

† *Ib.* p. 96.

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‘ &c. Be Galleries what they will for use, I commanded not the taking them down at *St. Andrews*.
‘ At *Edinburgh*, the King’s Command took down the Stone-Walls and Galleries, which were there removed, and not mine. For his Majesty having in a *Christian*, and a *Princely* way, erected and endowed a *Bishoprick* in *Edinburgh*; he resolved to make the Great Church of *St. Giles* in that City a *Cathedral*: and to this end gave order to have the Galleries in the lesser Church, and the Stone-Wall which divided them taken down. For of old, they are both one Church, and made two by a Wall, built up at the *West End* of the Chancel; so that that which was called the *lesser Church* was but the Chancel of *St. Giles*, with Galleries round about it; and was for all the world like a square Theatre, without any shew of a Church: Now since his Majesty took down these Galleries and the Stone-Walls to make *St. Giles’s* Church a Cathedral there; certainly my Command took them not down, to make way for *Altars* and *Adoration towards the East*: which I never commanded in that, or any other Church in *Scotland*.’

Neal, *ibid.* *The second Branch of their Charge was his obtruding upon them a Book of Constitutions ecclesiastical, devised for establishing a tyrannical Power in the Persons of their Prelates, over the Consciences, Liberties and Goods of their People, &c.*

* If they mean by *obtruding* upon their Church, that the *Canons* were unduly thrust upon them, because that Book was confirm’d by the King’s Authority; then it is a bold Phrase to call it *obtruding*. For if his Majesty that now is, did by his sole Authority command the present Book of *Canons* to the Church of *Scotland*, he did but ex-

* Troubles and Trial, p. 97.

' exercise that Power which King *James* challenged,
 ' did in the right of his Crown belong to him, as
 ' appears manifestly in a Letter of his directed to
 ' the Prelates of *Scotland* assembled at *Perth*. But
 ' because they speak of my *Novations*, if they
 ' mean that this Book of *Canons* was *obtruded* up-
 ' on their Church by me, or if it were found in a
 ' just Synod, and upon fair proceedings to *establish*
 ' a tyrannical Power in the Prelates, over the *Wor-*
 ' *ship of God; or the Consciences, Liberties, or Goods*
 ' *of the People, or for abolishing any thing that was*
 ' *settled by Laws*; they had reason both to be
 ' troubled, and to seek in a dutiful manner, first
 ' rightly to inform his Majesty, and then to desire
 ' a Remedy from him. But if the Book of *Canons*
 ' did really none of these Things, as (for ought
 ' I yet know) it did not, and as I hope will ap-
 ' pear when they come to Particulars; then this
 ' will be no longer a Charge, but a Slander. And
 ' howsoever, if any thing in those *Canons* were or-
 ' dered against their Laws; it was by our invinci-
 ' ble Ignorance, and their Bishops Fault, that
 ' would not tell us wherein we went *against their*
 ' *Laws*, if so we did. And for my own part, I did
 ' ever advise them to make sure in the whole Bu-
 ' ness, that they attempted nothing *against Law*.
 ' But if their late *General Assembly*, in which they
 ' say these Things were found to be against Law,
 ' did proceed *unwarrantably or factiously*, (as the
 ' most learned Men in that Kingdom avow they
 ' did) the less heed will and must in future times
 ' be given to their Proceedings.' See more, p. 98,
 99, 100.

Neal, p. 380. The third and great Innovation,
 with which they charged the Archbishop, was the
 Book of Common-Prayer, &c. brought in without
 Warrant from their Kirk, to be universally receiv'd,
 under the highest Pains both civil and ecclesiastical.

* ' Now

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* ‘ Now we come to the Arraignment of the Liturgy (says the Archbishop) and this they say *was brought in without Warrant from their Kirk.* If this be true, it was the Fault of your own *Prelates*, and them only, for ought I know: for though I like the Book exceeding well, and hope I shall be able to maintain any thing that is in it, and wish with all my heart, that it had been entertain'd there; yet I did ever desire it might come to them with their own liking and approbation. Nay, I did ever upon all occasions call upon their *Scottish Bishops* to do nothing in this particular but by Warrant of Law. And farther I professed unto them, before *his Majesty*, that though I had obey'd his Commands in helping to order that Book; yet since I was ignorant of the Laws of that Kingdom, I would have nothing at all to do with the manner of introducing it, but left that wholly to them, who do, or should understand both that Church, and *their Laws.* And I am sure they told me they would adventure it no way, but that which is legal.’

Neal, p. 380. *Upon their Refusal to receive the Service-Book, they were by his Grace's Instigation declared Rebels and Traytors, &c.*

‘ † I did not procure them to be called *Rebels and Traytors*; the Proclamation for that, went out by the common Advice of the Lords of the Council, and their Carriage at that time deserv'd it plentifully, let them paint over that Action how they can. And let the World and future Ages judge; whether to take Arms against their Sovereign, were a *Christian* and orderly seeking to possess their Religion in Peace; yet for all this, I shall after make it appear, that I kindled no

* Troubles and Trial, p. 109.

† Troubles and Trial, p. 125.

‘ War against them, but kept it off from them as much, and as long as I could.’

Neal, ibid. They therefore pray, that the Archbishop may be immediately removed from his Majesty's Presence, and that he may be brought to trial, and receive such Censure, as he has deserv'd, according to the Laws of the Kingdom.

The Words, * ‘ That this great Firebrand may be presently removed from his Majesty's Presence; and that he may be put to trial; and have his deserved Censure, according to the Laws of the Kingdom: Which shall be good Service to God, Honour to the King and Parliament, Terror to the Wicked, and Comfort to all good Men.’

Neal, ibid. The Archbishop has left behind him a particular Answer to these Articles in his Diary, which is writ with a peculiar Sharpness of Stile, and discovers a great Opinion of his own Abilities, and a sovereign Contempt of his Adversaries.

The Archbishop has left no Answer in his *Diary*; but in the *History of his Troubles and Trial* has fully answered them all, and that with great Modesty, and less Acrimony of Stile, than the Provocation deserved.

Neal, ibid. But either from a Distrust of the Strength of his Reply, or some other Reasons; his Grace was pleas'd to evade the whole Charge, at his Trial, and plead the Act of Oblivion at the Pacification of the Scots Troubles.

He did not plead *that Act of Oblivion*, but the King's special Pardon, sent him at the Instance of the Chancellor of the Exchequer under the Great Seal of England. † ‘ When his Trial was over (says Lord Clarendon) and the Ordinance pass'd for his Execution; and he call'd and ask'd, according

* *Ib.* p. 135.

† Lord Clarendon's Hist. Vol. II. p. 442.

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to custom in criminal Proceedings, "What he could say more why he should not suffer Death? he told them, he had the King's most gracious Pardon, which he pleaded, and tender'd to them, and desir'd that it might be allowed." Whereupon he was sent to the Tower, and the Pardon read in both Houses; where, without any long Debate, it was declared to be of no effect, and that the King could not pardon a Judgment in Parliament.

Neal, p. 382. Upon the 26th of February Mr. Pym, Mr. Hampden, and Mr. Maynard, by order of the Commons went up to the House of Lords, and at the Bar of the House presented their Lordships with fourteen Articles in maintenance of their former Charge of High Treason against the Archbishop; which were read, his Grace being present.

And these Articles he may find fully answer'd by his Grace; Troubles and Trial, p. 150. to 174. exclusive.

Neal, p. 387. About the latter end of January, Dr. Cousins, Prebendary of Durham, and afterwards Bishop of the same Diocese, was sent for into Custody, on account of the superstitious Innovations which he had introduced into that Cathedral. The Doctor, in his Answer, denied the whole Charge. [upon Oath, omitted.] And as to the Particulars, he replied, That the Marble Altar with Cherubims was set up before he was Prebendary of the Church, [and that Smart, was then one of the Chapter, omitted.] Many of the Things, says Collier, (p. 798.) which were then objected against as superstitious, were introduced when Smart his Accuser was Prebendary, and Dr. Cousins not Member of that Church.

Neal, Ibid. That he did not approve of the Image of God the Father, and that to his knowledge, there was no such Representation in the Church of Durham; that the Crucifix with a blue Cap, and golden Beard,

was

was mistook for the top of Bishop Hatfield's Tomb, which had been erected 25 Years.

* Collier says, it had stood in the Church above 250 Years, which is probable enough: † for Bishop Hatfield died the 8th Day of May, 1381.

Neal, p. 388. That he did not forbid the singing the Psalms in Metre, nor direct the singing the Anthem to the three Kings of Colen.

‡ 7thly, 'That Cousins never forbad singing the Psalms in Church, but used to sing them himself with the People at Morning-Prayer. 8thly, That he was so far from directing the singing the Anthem to the three Kings of Colen, that at his first coming to Durham Cathedral, he ordered this superstitious Hymn to be cut out of the old Song-Books belonging to the Choristers. That no such Anthem had been sung in the Choir during his being there, nor, as far as his Enquiry could reach, for threescore Years before.'

Neal, *ibid.* The Commons having voted him unfit to hold any Ecclesiastical Promotion, the Doctor foreseeing the Storm that was coming upon the Church, wisely withdrew into France, where he behaved discreetly and prudently till the Restoration, being softened in his Principles, by Age and Sufferings.

|| 'Thus (says Nalson) went the popular Torrent, and under the pretence of the Fear of an Inundation of Popery, brought on an impetuous Flood of Misery, and those Persons were accus'd as designing to introduce the Romish Religion and Superstition, who design'd by those innocent Ceremonies, Decency, Order, and Uniformity in religious Worship, to avoid those Divisions

* Collier, p. 799.

† Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, Vol. I. p. 771. Mr. Brown Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals of York, Durham, &c. p. 241.

‡ Collier, p. 799.

|| Nalson, Vol. I. p. 519.

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which the *Papists* had sown among us, and from which they hoped to reap a plentiful Harvest in our Ruin.

A more eminent Instance can scarcely be given, than in this very Gentleman, Dr. *Cousins*, after the happy Restoration of King *Charles* the II^d, advanced to the Bishoprick of *Durham*; who for all his being branded thus by the Name of *Papist*, and a Design to bring in the Mass and Idolatry of *Rome*, yet being by the Violence of the Persecution which was raised against the *Episcopal* Party forced to quit his native Country, and seek a Retreat among the *Papists* in *France*, he continued a most unshaken *Protestant*, and bold Propugnator of the Reform'd Religion, even to the hazard of his Life; and when the necessitous Condition to which he was reduced, and all the advantageous Offers imaginable were made him, to embrace the *Roman* Communion, yet were not those Temptations capable of removing him from his Foundation, insomuch as despairing of ever obliging him to change his Religion, the *Papists* were so enraged at him, (as I have heard it from his own Mouth) frequently to threaten him with Assassination, and that he should not escape Pistol, or Ponyard. And in revenge, which I have heard him aver was the most sensible Affliction that ever befel him in his whole Life, they inveigled his only Son from him, to become a *Papist*, and to take upon him religious Orders in the Church of *Rome*; and after he had used all the ways, and even the Authority of the *French* King, which by his Interest he had procured to interpose for the regaining him first out of their Power, and from their Persuasion, it proved altogether ineffectual; insomuch, that he was obliged at the last to disinherit him, as is well known to those honourable Persons, who inherited the Bishop's

‘shop’s Estate, and fared the better for the Foll
‘of his unfortunate Son.’

* *Dr. Fuller* adds, ‘That getting over into
‘*France*, he neither join’d with the Church o
‘*French* Protestants at *Charenton* nigh *Paris*, nor
‘kept any Communion with the *Papists* therein,
‘but confined himself to the Church of old *Eng*
‘*lish* Protestants therein. Where, by his pious liv
‘ing, and constant praying and preaching, he re
‘duced some Recusants to, and confirmed more
‘Doubters in the Protestant Religion. Many his
‘Encounters with *Jesuits* and *Priests*, defeating the
‘Suspensions of his Foes, and exceeding the Expec
‘tations of his Friends in the Success of such Dif
‘putes.’

Neal, p. 388. *Dr. Matthew Wren*, late Bishop of
Norwich, and now of Ely, having been remarka-
bly severe against the Puritan Clergy in his Dioceses,
the Inhabitants of Ipswich drew up a Petition against
him; upon which, the Committee of Parliament exhibi-
ted a Charge against him, consisting of 25 Articles,
relating to the late Innovations.

† ‘Certainly (says *Nelson*) notwithstanding
‘this black Accusation, there cannot be a greater
‘Demonstration of the Innocence of this worthy
‘Prelate, than the very Articles; and that this
‘Accusation wanted Proof to carry it farther than
‘a bare Accusation, and a Commitment to the
‘Tower, where, with the Courage and Patience
‘of a primitive Christian, he continued Prisoner
‘till the Year 1660.’

Neal, p. 389. Some time after, he was imprisoned
with the protesting Bishops. After his Release, he re-
tired to his House at Downham, in the Isle of Ely,
whence he was taken by a Party of Parliament Soldi-
ers, and convey’d to the Tower, where he continued a

* Church-History, B. XI. p. 173.

† Vol. II. p. 403.

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patient Prisoner till the end of the Year 1659, without being brought to his Trial, or admitted to Bail.

Fuller tells us, he was not released with his Brethren; * ' Only Bishop Wren was still detain'd in the Tower, where his long Imprisonment, (being never brought to a publick Answer) hath converted many of his Adversaries into a more charitable Opinion of him.' And Mr. † *Scribener* says, ' he was twenty Years a Prisoner in the Tower, or thereabouts.'

Neal, *ibid.* Complaints were made against several other Bishops and Clergymen, &c. Dr. Layfield, Archdeacon of Essex, pleaded his Privilege, as Member of Convocation, according to an old Popish Statute of Hen. VI. But the Committee over-ruled it, and voted the Doctor into Custody of the Serjeant at Arms.

‡ This Popish Statute is still in force, (8 Hen. VI. cap. 1.) which exempts the Clergy coming to Convocation, and their Servants and Families, from Arrests, and gives the Members of the lower House the same Liberty as Members of Parliament.

And if Statutes must be set aside, because made in times of Popery, one fourth part of the Statute-Law must be set aside. But we have authentic Proof of that Statute's being enforced, long after the Reformation, both before and since Dr. Layfield's Time.

* Fuller's Church-History, B. XI. p. 196.

† *Scribeneri* Apologia pro Ecclesiâ Anglicanâ, p. 32. Doctorem enim Wren, quem in arcem conjecerat Factio Londinensem, prius iniquissimâ sententiâ è Parlamento cum cæteris episcopis pulsum, contra fundatissimâ istius concilii jura, bonis dein omnibus expoliatum, & tantum vitâ non multatum, arcem Custodiâ squale, & viginti plus minus annos fecerunt.

‡ Bishop Gibson's Codex, p. 974, 975. where the Bishop observes, ' That in the Journals of the House were several Applications to their Lordships for Redress, in Cases where this Liberty of the Convocation Clergy hath been invaded; which their Lordships have accordingly granted. 3 Carol. 1. April 29. and June 29. in 1667. and 1668. temp. Carol. 2.

* Arch-

* Archbishop *Parker* granted a Protection to the Dean of *Glocester's* Servant, during the sitting of the Convocation.

† In the Year 1604, ' Sefs. 19. the *Prolocutor* complains to the Bishop [presiding,] That ' he had two *Subpœnas* served upon him by *Harrington*, and *Walker*, notwithstanding his Privilege. The President answers, That the King ' was acquainted with it, and that *Walker* was ar-

* Life of Archbishop *Parker* by Mr. *Strype*. Appendix B. IV. No. 82. p. 128. *Mattheus* divinâ Providentiâ *Cantuar.* Archiepiscopus, dilectis mihi in Christo *Majori* & *Ballivis*, &c. eorumque Officiariis & Ministris quibuscunque, Sal. Gratiam, & Benedictionem. Cum in Parlamento tento apud *Westmonast.* Anno Regni felicissimæ Memorix Dom. *Henrici VI.* nuper regis octavo, cap. 1. inter alia statutum & stabilitum fuerit, quod vocandi in futurum in Convocationem Cleri, prætextu *Brevis Regii*, eorum *Servientes*, & *Familiares*, ead. Libertate veniendo, expectando, & sedendo, plenè gaudeant, & utantur, perpetuis futuris temporibus, qua gaudeant, & gaudere consueverunt, sive gaudere debent in futurum, Proceres, Magnates, & Communitas Regni Angliæ ad Parliamentum Domini Regis vocati, sive vocandi, prout per Statutum prædictum plene liquet & apparet: Vobis, & cuilibet vestrum tenore præsentium significamus & innotescimus, quod Magister *Laurentius Humsfrey*, Decanus Ecclesiæ Cathedralis *Gloucestren.* prætextu *Brevis Regii*, nobis directi, ad Convocationem Cleri nostræ Provinciæ *Cant.* in Ecclesiâ Cathedrali *D. Pauli London.* nono Die præsentis Mensis Maii inchoatam & celebratam, per nos vocatus existit, atque expeditioni causarum ac negotiorum in ead. Convocatione tractandor. operam & industriam dat & impendit: Quodque *Jacobus Massam* fuit, & est serviens dicti Magistri *Laurentius Humsfrey*, Decani *Gloucestren.* antedicti. & eid. Decano obsequitur, & ad civitatem *London.* in obsequio dicti Decani venit, & ibidem expectat in præsentem in ejus Servitio, prout dicti. *Jacobus Massam* coram nobis, corporale præstitit Juramentum. Quocirca vobis, & cuilibet vestrum tenore præsentium strictè præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus eund. *Jacobum Massam*, durante Convocatione prædicti. ead. libertate & immunitate, veniendo, expectando, & redeundo, plenè gaudere, & juxta formam Statuti prædicti, absque *Arrestatione*, & *Molestatione* quacunque permittatis. In cujus rei Testimonium, &c. dat. Maii 16.

† *Synodus Anglicana*, p. 73, 74. The Parliamentary Original, and Rights of the lower House of Convocation clear'd, &c. Printed 1702. p. 40.

rested

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rested for it by a Serjeant at Mace, and a Warrant gone for *Harrington*. Sess. 20. *Walker* (above-said) convented before the Bishops, sent to the lower House to beg Pardon of the *Prolocutor*, and House, which he did, and was dismissed *pro tempore*. Sess. 32. *Harrington* brought upon his knees, for serving a *Subpœna* upon the *Prolocutor*.*

* May 16th, 1628, the Privileges of the Lower House of Convocation having been violated, by arresting a Servant attending one of their Members, they besought Redress of the Lords, (as was usual) in a *Petition*; which I will print here, from the Original.

To the Right Honourable, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in the Higher House of Parliament, assembled,

The Humble Petition of the Lower House of Convocation; Humbly shewing to your Lordships,

WHEREAS a Member of their House, one *James Whitney*, Batchelor of Divinity, had his Servant *Richard Colly* lately arrested by one *John Dios*, Under-Sheriff of the County of *Hereford*, contrary to the *Privileges of this House*; the said Servant shewing his Privilege immediately upon his Arrest: yet nevertheless his said Servant was imprisoned, and detained four Days; the said Under-Sheriff not only denying his Release, but using unreverend Speeches, prejudicial to the whole House of Convocation, as shall appear by the Schedule annexed, and will be proved.

‘ Their humble Petition therefore is, That your Lordships would be pleased to take the Premises

* The Parliamentary Original, and Rights of the Lower House of Convocation, clear’d, &c. p. 49.

Q

‘ into

‘ into your grave Considerations, and that the said
 ‘ Under-Sheriff may undergo such Punishment for
 ‘ this Offence, as in your grave Wisdoms shall be
 ‘ thought meet ; and they shall be bound to pray
 ‘ for your Lordships, &c.

The Schedule annexed is as follows: ‘ *James*
 ‘ *Clerk* being sworn, saith, That the said *John*
 ‘ *Dios* Under-Sheriff, scornfully answered those
 ‘ that shewed the *Protection*, that the same was in-
 ‘ sufficient, and not worth a pin ; saying, It was
 ‘ a *Protection* but from a *Clerk of Divinity* ; which
 ‘ *Clerk of Divinity*, as he said, had no Authority
 ‘ to grant any such *Protection*.’

Jurat 26 Aprilis, 1628. Eub. Thelwall.

The Lords, upon this, the same Day, “ Or-
 “ dered the Under-Sheriff of *Hereford* to be sent
 “ for, to answer his Contempt, by the Serjeant at
 “ Arms. And he appearing on *May 20*, did then
 “ further order him, to submit himself to the Lower
 “ House of Convocation, and to be discharged, pay-
 “ ing his Fees.” Upon the top of the Petition,
 these Words are set by the Clerk of the House of
 Lords. “ *Rec. 16 Maii, 1628.*

Per Episcopum Lond.

Nay, there is a much later Instance, and that
 fresh in Memory.

* *November 18, 21. 1702.*

Among the Votes of the Honourable House of
 Commons, we found as follows :

Mercurii, 18 Novembris, 1702.

‘ Ordered, That Mr. *Attorney-General* do pro-
 ‘ secute Mr. *Lloyd*, the Lord Bishop of *Worcester's*
 ‘ Son, for his said Offences, after his *Privilege* as a

* A Collection of Papers concerning what has been transac-
 ted in the Convocation. summon'd *A. D. 1702*, and dissolved
 1705, p. 4, 5. Printed by *J. Nant, 1705.*

‘ Member

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‘ Member of the Lower House of Convocation is out.’

By the Lower House of Convocation, *Die Veneris*, November 20. 1702.

‘ Order’d, That the *Prolocutor*, the *Dean* of *Canterbury*, *Archdeacon Otley*, and *Mr. Moor*, do attend *Mr. Speaker* of the Honourable House of *Commons*, and return our humble Thanks to him, and to that most Honourable House, for the great Favour to the Church, and Convocation, which they have on all occasions been pleased to express; and particularly, for the late Regard, which they of themselves, without Suggestion, or Solicitation, were pleased to have to the Privilege of this House, in the Case of one of our Members, who had the Misfortune to fall under their Displeasure.’

This was read to *Mr. Speaker*, at his House, November 21, and the same Day in the Honourable House of *Commons*.

‘ Resolved, That this House will, on all occasions, assert the just Rights and Privileges of the Lower House of Convocation.’

Neal, p. 390. *The Number of Petitions that were sent up to the Committee of Religion, from all parts of the Country, against the Clergy, is incredible.*

Not at all incredible, if we consider the unfair Methods of obtaining *Petitions*, in those Times of Iniquity and Confusion; of which the Lord * *Clarendon* has given an Account.

Neal, *ibid.* Such was the Spirit of the Populace, that it was difficult to prevent their outrunning Authority, and tearing down, in a tumultuous manner, what they were told was illegally set up. At *St. Saviour's*, *Southwark*, the Mob pulled down the Rails round the *Communion-Table*.

* History of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 161.

Bishop Kennet observes, * ' That the Disposi-
 ' tion of the House did so much abet and encour-
 ' rage the *Schismatical* and *Enthusiastical* People,
 ' that they broke into the most insolent Rudeness;
 ' of which Complaint and Proof being made in the
 ' House, they resolved, That the Order should be
 ' read publickly in all the Churches in *London*, &c.'

And the King, I think, charges it home upon
 them, in his Speech to the Inhabitants of *Denbigh*
 and *Flintshire*, 27 September, 1642. † ' And, to
 ' let you know how I have been dealt with by a
 ' powerful *malignant* Party in the Kingdom, whose
 ' Designs are no less than to destroy my Person and
 ' Crown, the Laws of the Land, and the present
 ' Government, both of Church and State; the
 ' Leaders of these Men, by their Subtilty and
 ' cunning Practices, have so prevail'd upon the
 ' meaner sort of People about *London*, that they
 ' have called them up into frequent and dangerous
 ' Tumults, and thereby have chased from thence
 ' myself, and the greatest part of the Members of
 ' both Houses of Parliament. Their Power and
 ' secret Plots have had such Influence upon the
 ' small remaining part of both Houses, that under
 ' colour of Orders and Ordinances, made without
 ' the Royal Assent, (a thing never heard of before
 ' this Parliament) I am robb'd and despoiled of
 ' my Towns, Forts, Castles, and Goods, my Navy
 ' forcibly taken from me, and employed against
 ' me; all my Revenue is stopt, and seiz'd upon,
 ' and at this time a powerful Army is marching
 ' against me.'

Neal, p. 391. *Those Ministers who prayed with*
Fervency and Devotion, in Words of their own Con-
ception, suitable either to the Sermon that was preach-
ed, or the present Urgency of Affairs, had crowded and

* Bishop Kennet, Vol. I. p. 105.

† *Husbands's Exact Collections*, p. 618.

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attentive Auditories; while the ordinary Service of the Church was deserted, as formal, lifeless, and without Spirit.

Some Instances of the Fervency and Devotion of those Ministers, who had crowded and attentive Auditories, are as follow.

* We pray Thee, O God (*says one*) not only to destroy Heaven, but all the Glory that hath been in the Soul of thy People, and create a new Heaven, and a new Earth, wherein may dwell the immediate Ashes of thy own Glory: Let the Keys of our Hearts, O Lord, hang at the Girdle of our God; O Lord, tie our Hands behind us, that we may not cut the Throats of our own Souls.

† Another being at a loss in his Prayers, prayed to God to give him some Syrup of *Barberries*.

† One Robinson, in his Prayer at Southampton, 25th August, 1642, had the following Expressions: O God, O God, many are the hands that are lift up against us; but there is one God: It is thou thyself, O Father, who dost us more Mischief than they all.

Mr. Evans, Preacher of St. Clement's, Temple-Bar, expostulated thus with God, [*Dugdale*, p. 568.] O Lord, when wilt thou take a Chair, and sit amongst the House of Peers? And when, O God, when I say, wilt thou vote amongst the Honourable House of Commons, who are so zealous of thine Honour?

And Mr. Vynes, [a noted Man in those Times, and one of the Ministers who *prayed with Fervency*,] in the same Church, said in his Prayer, [*Dugdale*, p. 570.] O Lord, thou hast never given us a

* R. Seppens's Preacher's Guard and Guide. Printed by R. Royson, 1664, p. 53. *penes me*.

† Id. *ibid*.

† Sir William Dugdale's short View of the Troubles, p. 568.

‘ Victory this long while, for all our frequent Fast-
 ‘ ting: What dost thou mean, O Lord, to sling
 ‘ us in a Ditch, and there leave us?’

‘ Mr. *Cradock*, Vicar of *Nun-Eaton*, in *Warwick-*
 ‘ *shire*, used this Expression in his Prayer before Ser-
 ‘ mon, *Sunday 1 August*, 1647. O Lord, do not
 ‘ thou stand a Neuter; but take one side, that we
 ‘ may see which it is that is thy Cause.’ [*Id. ib.*]

‘ And Mr. *Cheshire*, a much admired *Presbyterian*
 ‘ Preacher, had this Rhetorick in his Pulpit-Prayer,
 ‘ [*Cheshire's* Sermon at *St. Paul's*, 1642. p. 16.]
 ‘ Lord, thou hast been good one Year; yea,
 ‘ Lord, thou hast been good to us two Years; Lord-
 ‘ thou hast been good to us fourscore Years; but
 ‘ Lord, thou art wanting in one thing.’

Mr. *Strickland*, on their Fast-Day, 9th of *June*,
 1643. at *Southampton*, used these Words in his
 Prayer: ‘ O Lord, thine Honour is now at stake;
 ‘ for now, O Lord, *Antichrist* hath drawn his
 ‘ Sword against thy Christ, and if our Enemies
 ‘ prevail, thou wilt lose thine Honour.’ [*Dugdale*,
 p. 567.]

And one of their Lecturers in *Southampton* pray-
 ed thus: ‘ Bless the King, O Lord, mollify his
 ‘ Heart, that delighteth in Blood; open his Eyes,
 ‘ that he may see that the Blood of Saints is dear
 ‘ in thy sight. He is fallen from Faith in thee,
 ‘ and become an Enemy to the Church; Is it not
 ‘ he that hath sinned, and done Evil indeed? but
 ‘ as for these Sheep, what have they done? Let
 ‘ thine hand, we pray thee, O Lord our God, be
 ‘ upon him, and on his Father's House; but not on
 ‘ thy People, that they should be plagued.’ *Id. ib.*

More Instances of this Fervency and Devotion in
 Prayer, are to be met with in the Books referred
 to in the Margin *.

Neal,

* *Seppens's* Preacher's Guard and Guide. Sir *William Dug-*
dale's Short View of the Troubles, &c. Sir *Philip Warwick's*
 Memoirs,

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Neal, p. 392. Upon Mr. Lathorp's retiring to New England, the Congregation chose for their Pastor, the famous Mr. Canne, Author of the *Marginal References in the Bible*, &c. who was driven by the Severity of the Times into Holland, and became Pastor of the Brownist Congregation at Amsterdam.

This is the Brownist against whom that eminent and peaceable Puritan Mr. Ball drew his Pen. And

Bishop Kennet informs us, from Mr. Ball's Book, * 'That this Canne, because no human Inventions were to be allowed about the Worship of God, had cut out of his Bible the Contents of the Chapters, and Titles of the Leaves, and so left the bare Text, without Binding, or Covers.'

Neal, p. 397. Archbishop Usher defended the Order [of Episcopacy] in a Treatise, entitled, *The Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy*; but then by a Bishop, his Lordship meant no more than a stated President over an Assembly of Presbyters, which the Puritans of those Times were willing to admit.

† Dr. Smith, in his *Life of Bishop Usher*, informs us in how scandalous a manner the Presby-

Memoirs, p. 388. *Ludlow's Memoirs*, Vol. II. p. 610, 612. Dr. Benner's Joint Use of precomposed set Forms of Prayer, from p. 100. to 108.

* Bishop Kennet's Register, &c. p. 744. Ball against Canne, of Separation, p. 13.

† *Vita Jacobi Usserii*, p. 32. Cum verò hac de re, sive a serenissimo Rege, aut à Senatoribus consultus, rogatusque, sive à propria sponte sententiam dixisset; malè feriat quidam homines, Presbyterana *ἰστορίας*, & paritatis introducendæ studiosi, non modicum robur & auctoritatem, in se, suamque causam derivaturi. Libellum ex apographo surreptitio, foedè exscriptum, & interpolatum sub illius nomine publicarunt, viz. *Archiepiscopi Armachani Consilia [Directions] Parlamento exhibita de Liturgiâ, & Regimine Episcopali*. Archiepiscopum verò de hac violatione Juris, & Læli Famâ, apud adfessores inferioris cameræ acerrimè quæstus, qui de exemplaribus jam exstantibus, aut exstiteris, nè divulgarentur, supprimendis, brevi consulto providèrunt. Illos, qui secus fecerint, censurâ ejusdem cameræ obnoxios statuentes. See *Nalson*, Vol. I. p. 773. to the same purpose.

terians misrepresented the Archbishop's Opinion concerning the Liturgy, and Government by Bishops, by printing a faulty and surreptitious Copy, of which he complain'd at that time, and found some Redress.

And Mr. *Collier* makes this Observation, * ' That the Bishops were not only struck at in their Parliamentary Privilege, but in their spiritual Character. To do them Justice in this point, and support the Government of the Church, Archbishop *Usher* published a seasonable Tract, to combat the *Root and Branch Bill*, and proves Episcopacy to be of *Apostolical* Institution.' An Abstract of which, Mr. *Collier* gives in the Place referred to; by which it appears, that he makes his Bishop much more than a *stated President over an Assembly of Presbyters*.

And *Nelson* says of it; † ' This Book may for ever silence those Gainfayers, who have nothing in their mouth, but the *Antichristian* and Lordly Prelacy. A Reproach, which, if traced to the Original of this Institution, will at last fall upon the *Apostles* themselves, if not upon him, whom St. *Peter* styles the *Shepherd and Bishop of our Souls*.'

Neal, p. 398. *The Bishop* [viz. *Hall*, in his humble Remonstrance] begins with *Liturgies*, by which he understands certain prescribed Forms of Prayer, &c. ' The Antiquity of these, says his Lordship, derives down from *Moses*, by an uninterrupted Succession, to the present Time. God's People, says he, ever since *Moses's Day*, constantly practised a set Form, and put it over to the Times of the Gospel. Our Blessed Saviour, and his gracious Forerunner, taught a direct Form of Prayer, &c.'

* *Collier*, p. 808.

† *Nelson*, Vol. II. p. 279. Vide *Vit. Usserii*, p. 35.

' Surely,

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* Surely, says the Bishop, [Humble Remonstrance, p. 10.] our Saviour, and his gracious Forerunner, were so far from this new Divinity, as they plainly taught that, which these Men gain-say; a direct Form of Prayer, and such, as that part of the Frame prescribed by our Saviour, was compos'd of those Forms of Devotion, which have been since usual with the Jews.'

Neal, p. 399. Sme'tymnuus replies, That there were none [viz. Liturgies] in the Christian Church, is evident from Tertullian, in his Apol. cap. 30. where he says, the Christians in those Times, in their publick Assemblies, prayed, sine monitore, quia de pectore, without any Prompter, but their own Heart.

This is fully answered by the Bishop, in his Defence of the Humble Remonstrance, p. 13, 14.

Neal, ibid. Nor was this Liberty taken away, [and set Forms impos'd and introduced. Omitted by Mr. Neal] till the Arian and Pelagian Heresies did invade the Church.

* It is somewhat magisterially said, (says Bishop Hall, in his Defence of the Humble Remonstrance, p. 14.) that set and impos'd Forms were not introduced till the Arian and Pelagian Heresies did invade the Church; and as Clerkly do they immediately confute themselves, by their own Testimonies cited out of the Council of Laodicea, which was before their limited time, as being before the Nicene, and betwixt that and the Neocesarean. Nothing can be more full than the Canon of that ancient Synod, that the same Liturgy of Prayers should be always us'd, both in the Morning and Evening.'

Neal, p. 401. From the Antiquity of Liturgies in general, the Bishop descends to a more particular Commendation of that, which was establish'd in the Church of England; as that it was drawn up by wise and good Men, with great Deliberation; that it had been
seal'd

seal'd with the Blood of Martyrs, and was selected out of ancient Models, not Roman, but Christian.

The Bishop's Words, [*Remonstrance*, p. 13.] 'In the mean time, let the publique Form of the sacred Church-Liturgy have its due Honour; let this, by the power of your Authority, be reinforced, as that which being selected out of ancient Models, (not Roman, but Christian) and contrived by the holy Martyrs and Confessors of the blessed Reformation of Religion, hath received abundant Supply of Strength, both from the zealous Recommendation of our most religious Princes, and your own most firm and pre-emptory Establishment.' Again, [p. 17.] 'And if our holy Martyrs heretofore went to Heaven with a Litany in their Mouths, let not an ill advised New-fangleness be suffered to put Scorn upon that, wherein they thought themselves happy.'

Neal, p. 403. *The other Point in debate between the Bishop and his Adversaries, related to the superior Order of Bishops, &c. The Bishop enters upon this part with unusual Assurance, bearing down his Adversaries with a Torrent of bold and unguarded Expressions. His Words are these: " This holy Calling, (meaning the Order of Bishops, as distinct from Presbyters) fetches its Pedigree from Apostolical and Divine Institution. Except all Histories, all Authors fail us, nothing can be more plain than this; out of them we can, and do shew on whom the Apostles of Christ laid their Hands, with an Acknowledgement, and Conveyance of Imparity and Jurisdiction. We shew, what Bishops so ordain'd lived in the Times of the Apostles, and succeeded each other in their several Charges, under the Eyes and Hands of the Apostles. We shew, who immediately succeeded those immediate Successors, in their several Sees through all the Regions of the Christian*

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“ Christian Church, and deduce their uninterrupted
“ Line, through all the following Ages, to this pre-
“ sent Day.”

There is nothing either bold or unguarded in any one of these Expressions, they are all very capable of being defended. To pass over the Epistles of St. Ignatius, who lived in the time of the Apostles, and whose Epistles have been proved (to Demonstration) genuine, by the learned Bishop Pearson, against Blondel and Salmasius; where the three distinct Orders of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons are fully proved in every Epistle:

* Tertullian calls upon the Hereticks of his Time to make good their Succession of Bishops, from some Apostle, or Bishop Cotemporary with the Apostles; in like manner, as the Church of Smyrna proved St. Polycarp to be appointed Bishop of that Church, by St. John; and the Church of Rome, St. Clement to be ordained by St. Peter; and several other Churches which derived their Succession directly from the Apostles. † Epiphanius gives an Account of the Bishops of Jerusalem to his own Time, and reckons them down from St. James, to Hilarion, then Bishop, in Number 45.

† Eusebius has given us a List of them from James, to Hermon, in Number about 39. Saint Jerome

* Tertullian de præscript. Hæretic. cap. 32. Edit. Rigaltii 1664. p. 213. Edant Origines Ecclesiarum suarum, evolvant ordinem Episcoporum suorum, ita per Successiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille Episcopus aliquem ex Apostolis, vel Apostolicis viris, qui tamen cum Apostolis perseveraverit, habuit Auctorem & Antecessorem. Hoc enim modo, Ecclesiæ Apostolicæ census suos deferunt, sicut Smyræorum Ecclesia Polycarpum, ab Joanne conlocatum refert; sicut Romanorum, Clementem a Petro ordinatum itidem: Perinde utique & cæteræ exhibent, quos ab Apostolis in Episcopatum constitutos, Apostolici seminis Traduces habeant. Constringant tale aliquid Hæretici.

† Epiphan. Lib. 2. Tom. 2. Hæres. 66. Sect. 20. Vol. I. p. 636. Edit. Colon. 1682.

† Eusebii Eccles. Hist. Lib. 4. cap. 4. Lib. 5. cap. 12. Lib. 6. cap. 10. Lib. 7. cap. 32.

* *Jerome* says, that *James*, surnamed the Just, the Brother of our Lord, immediately after our Saviour's Passion, was ordained Bishop of *Jerusalem* by the *Apostles*. And † *David Blondel* allows, That all the Antients assert him to have been ordained Bishop of *Jerusalem* by the *Apostles*. [Nay, 'tis observed from a || Letter of Dr. *Peter du Moulin*, Prebendary of the Church of *Canterbury*, &c. That a Passage for Episcopacy, written by Mr. *David Blondell* in his *Apologia pro Hieronymi Sententia*, was left out at the Entreaty of the *Presbyterians*. The Words were to this purpose; "By all that we have said, to assert the Rights of the Presbytery, we do not intend to invalidate the Antient and Apostolical Constitution of *Episcopal Preeminence*: But we believe, that wheresoever it is established conformably to the Antient *Canon*s, it must be carefully preserved; and wheresoever, by some Heat of Contention, or otherwise, it hath been put down or violated, it ought to be reverently restored."]

Catalogues of the Bishops of *Rome* have been collected by ** *Irenæus*; and of *Rome*, *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, *Laodicea*, and *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, even from the Apostles Time, by †† *Eusebius*.

* *Hieronymus de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*: *Jacobus* qui appellatur frater Domini, cognomento *Iustus*, post passionem Domini, statim ab Apostolis Hierosolymorum Episcopus ordinatus est.

† *Blondelli Apologia pro sententiâ Hieronymi*, p. 50. *Jacobum* Domini fratrem, *Hierosolymæ* Ecclesiæ Episcopum a Collegis ordinatum, constanter assertunt veteres omnes.

|| Bishop *Kenner's Register* and *Chronicle Ecclesiastical and Civil*, p. 742. *Durell's Conformity of the Church of England*, 4to. 1662. Append.

** *Irenæi* Lib. 2. adversus Hæreses, cap. 3. p. 200. &c. Edit. Grabii Oxon, 1702.

†† *Eusebii Eccles. Hist.* Lib. 3. cap. 2. 34. Lib. 4. cap. 1. 4. 10. Lib. 5. cap. 6. Lib. 6. cap. 21. Lib. 7. cap. 2. 32. Lib. 3. cap. 13. 21. 22. Lib. 4. cap. 24. Lib. 7. cap. 32.

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Neal, Ibid. "And if there can be better Evidence
"under Heaven for any Matter of Fact, (and in this
"Cause, Matter of Fact so deriv'd; evinceth Matter
"of Right,) let Episcopacy be for ever abandoned out
"of God's Church."

Then follow these Words, omitted by Mr. Neal,
p. 22. "But if these be (as they are) certain and ir-
"refragable: Alas! what strange Fury possesseth
"the Minds of ignorant and unstable Men, that
"they should thus headily desire, and sue to shake
"off so sacred and well-grounded an Institution?
"If our Bishops challenge any other spiritual
"Power than was by *Apostolique* Authority dele-
"gated unto, and required of *Timothy*, and *Titus*,
"and the Angels of the seven Antient Churches,
"(some whereof are known to us by Name) let
"them be disclaim'd as Usurpers. And if we do
"not shew out of the genuine and undeniable Wri-
"tings of those Holy Men, &c." as follows in
Mr. Neal.

Neal, Ibid. *The sole Right of Ordination his Lord-
ship proves from the Words of St. Paul, 2 Tim. i. 6.*
"Stir up the Gift of God which is in thee, by the lay-
"ing on of my Hands;" and that this Power was ne-
"ver communicated to Presbyters from the Words of
St. Jerom, by whom Ordination is excepted from the
Office of a Presbyter.

"Give me leave (says the Bishop, Defence, p. 52.)
"to marvel how you can have this Boldness to say,
"this Power is communicated to Presbyters, when
"you know, that not only other Antiquity, but
"St. Hierome himself, and that Council of *Aquisgrane*
"which you cite, do still except Ordination; which
"yet we do not so appropriate, as to lay our
"Hands alone upon the Head of any Presbyter."

Neal, p. 405. *The Smectymnuan Divines contend
on the other hand, that Bishops and Presbyters were
originally the same. That Ordination to the Office of a
Bishop*

Bishop does not differ from the Ordination of a Presbyter.

If he means, that there was no difference in the *Primitive Times*, there was a very great one, as he may be convinced, by consulting *Mr. Bingham's Origines Ecclesiasticæ*; if at the time when the *Smeftymnuan* Divines wrote, there was a difference.

The Rubrick, in ordering of Priests, as follows;
 ‘ The Bishop, with the Priests present, shall lay
 ‘ their Hands severally upon the Head of every one
 ‘ that receiveth Orders; the Receivers humbly
 ‘ kneeling upon their Knees, and the Bishop say-
 ‘ ing, “ Receive the Holy Ghost: whose Sins
 “ thou do’st forgive, they are forgiven; and whose
 “ Sins thou dost retain, they are retain’d; and be
 “ thou a faithful Dispenser of the Word of God,
 “ and of his Holy Sacraments. In the Name of
 “ the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy
 “ Ghost. *Amen.*

‘ The Bishop shall deliver to every one of them
 ‘ the Bible in his Hand, saying;

“ Take thou Authority to preach the Word of
 “ God, and to minister the Holy Sacraments in the
 “ Congregation, where thou shalt be so appointed.”

The Consecration of Bishops:

‘ Then the Archbishop and Bishops present,
 ‘ shall lay their Hands upon the Head of the elected
 ‘ Bishop, the Archbishop saying;

“ Take the Holy Ghost, and remember, that
 “ thou stir up the Grace of God which was in thee,
 “ by Imposition of Hands; for God hath not gi-
 “ ven us the Spirit of Fear, but of Power, and
 “ Love, and Soberness.

‘ Then the Archbishop shall deliver him the
 ‘ Bible, saying;

“ Give heed unto Reading, Exhortation and Doc-
 “ trine. Think upon these things contain’d in this
 “ Book.

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“ Book. Be diligent in them, that the Encrease
“ coming thereby, may be manifest unto all Men.
“ Take heed unto thyself, and unto teaching, and
“ be diligent in doing them: For by doing this,
“ thou shalt save thyself and them that hear thee.
“ Be to the Flock of Christ a Shepherd, not a
“ Wolf: Feed them, devour them not: Hold up
“ the Weak, heal the Sick, bind together the Bro-
“ ken, bring again the Outcasts, seek the Lost, be
“ so merciful, that ye be not remiss: So minister
“ Discipline, that you forget not Mercy; That
“ when the chief Shepherd shall come, ye may re-
“ ceive the Immarcessible Crown of Glory through
“ Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Neal, p. 405. That admitting Timothy was a proper Bishop, which they deny, yet that he was ordain'd by the laying on of the Hands of the Presbytery as well as Saint Paul; 2 Tim. iv. 14.

‘ Mr. Calvin (says the Bishop, Defence of the Remonstrance, p. 52.) was more skill'd in the Harmony of the Scripture than our selves; yet in his Ear, it founded well, that *πρεσβυτεριον* should be the Office to which Timothy was ordain'd by Paul, and not a Company of Men that ordain'd him.’

Neal, *ibid.* St. Jerome declares once and again, That in the Days of the Apostles, Bishops and Presbyters were the same.

St. Hierom says quite the contrary. In his Epistle to Evagrius, [Ep. 85.] he has these Words; *Et ut sciamus Traditiones Apostolicas sumptas de veteri Testamento, quod Aaron, & Filii ejus, atque Levitæ in Templo fuerunt, hoc sibi Episcopi, Presbyteri & Diaconi vendicent in ecclesiâ.*

Contra Jovinian. Lib. 2. To. 1. Op. In veteri Testamento & in novo, alium Ordinem Pontifex tenet, alium Sacerdotes, alium Levitæ. Id. ib. Episcopus, Presbyter ac Diaconus non sunt Meritorum no-

mina, sed Officiorum. See more in his *Epist. ad Evagrium, & Com. in Galat.* 1. 19.

Neal, *ibid.* Saint Chrysostom and Theophylact affirm, that while the Apostles lived, and some Ages after, the Names of Bishops and Presbyters were not distinguished.

Saint Chrysostom says, [*Principio Homil. 1. 1 Tim. To. 4. Op. Edit. Savil. p. 289.*] 'That the Reason why the Apostle having delivered Rules for the Behaviour of Bishops, immediately proceeds to Deacons, without mentioning the intermediate Order of Presbyters, was this:

'That there is not a great Difference between Bishops and Presbyters; for even Presbyters are entrusted to teach and preside over the Church: so that the same Rules which are prescribed for Bishops, may also serve for Presbyters; there being scarce any Act of the episcopal Office, which may not be exercised by them, but Imposition of Hands.' See *Homil. 16. in 1 Tim. p. 317.*

Theophylact [*in Argument. in Epist. ad Titum, p. 387. Op. Londini, 1636.*] the Translation as follows: 'That Titus was the most approved of any that attended upon Saint Paul, and on that account was made Bishop of the Great Isle of Crete; and that he had not only the Superintendency over all Crete, but the Ordination of the Bishops thereof was committed to his Care.'

Neal, p. 406. *The Chorepiscopus, who was but a Presbyter, had power to impose Hands, and to ordain within his Precincts, with the Bishop's Licence.*

Bishop Hall observes upon this as follows, [*Defence, p. 72.*] 'You discover not too much Skill in not distinguishing of the *Chorepiscopi*, some whereof had both the Nature and Power of Episcopacy to all purposes; and therefore might well, with the Bishop's Licence, in his own Charge, impose Hands, and others not. Bishop
Stilling-

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Stillingsfleet gives a *Curious Account* of the *Chorepiscopi*, to which I refer the * Reader.

Neal, p. 407. He tells us in a Note from *Baxter's Life*, *That the Primate of Ireland [Archbishop Usher] in answer to Mr. Baxter, says; That the King having asked him at the Isle of Wight, whether he found in Antiquity that Presbyters ordain'd any, he reply'd yes; and that he could shew his Majesty more, even where Presbyters alone successively ordain'd Bishops, and instanced in Hierom's Words, Epist. ad Evagrium, of the Presbyters of Alexandria abusing and making their own Bishops, from the Days of Mark, till Heraclas and Dionysius. Baxter's Life, p. 206. And*

Granting that Archbishop *Usher* did say so, (which I very much question, it being directly contrary to his former Sentiments;) his single Authority could not have affected the Cause of Episcopacy. Mr. *Bingham* has fully clear'd up this Passage of St. *Jerome*, relating to the *Presbyters of Alexandria* †. 'Some (says he) urge the Authority of St. *Jerome*, 'to prove, that the *Presbyters of Alexandria* ordain'd their own Bishops, from the Days of Saint 'Mark, to the Time of *Heraclas* and *Dionysius*; 'and others think the same Words prove, That he 'had no new Ordination at all: But they both 'mistake Saint *Jerome's* Meaning, who speaks 'not of the Ordination of the Bishop, but of his 'Election; who was chosen by the *Presbyters* out 'of their own Body, and by them placed upon 'the Bishop's Throne, which in those Days was 'no more, than a Token of his Election, and was 'sometimes done by the People: But the Ordination came after that, and was always reserved to

* Bishop *Stillingsfleet's* Miscellaneous Discourses, Chap. 14. p.

242, &c.

† *Bingham's* Origines Ecclesiasticæ, Vol. I. B. 2. p. 83.

‘ the Provincial Bishops to perform, as shall be
‘ shew’d hereafter.’

Variety of Authorities, in confutation of this Assertion, may be met with in the Books refer’d to in the * Margin.

Neal, p. 413. *The Root and Branch Petition was presented to the House, December 11, 1640. by Alderman Pennington, and others, in the Name of his Majesty's Subjects in and about the City of London, and the adjacent Counties.*

Dr. Nalson says of it, as follows ; † ‘ That
‘ which is the most observable in these *Mechanick*
‘ *Statesmen* and *Divines*, is their quarrelling the E-
‘ piscopal Function, as invading the Rights of the
‘ Crown, when with the same Ink they were la-
‘ bouring to divest their Sovereign of that glorious
‘ Flower of his Imperial Crown, of being over all
‘ Persons Supreme Governor ; endeavouring to de-
‘ molish and pull down that Church, *Root* and
‘ *Branch*, whereof he, by solemn Oath, was ac-
‘ knowledged political Head ; the Reformation
‘ whereof, however publick Persons might pretend
‘ to, yet they being private, could not have the
‘ least Colour to attempt.’

Neal, p. 418. *Two Days after the delivery of this Petition, [viz. of the Ministers for the Reformation of the Hierarchy] Jan. 25. his Majesty came*

* *Abrahami Ecchelenfis Eutychius vindicatus ; five responsio ad Johannis Seldeni Origines Alexandrinas, &c.* Romæ 1661. Morinus, de Ecclesiæ Ordinationibus, Paris 1657. p. 151. Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, Book 7. Sect. 5. Bp. Hall's Defence of the humble Remonstrance, p. 62. Dr. Hammond's Dissertation against Blondell, x. and xi. Chapters. Pierſon's Vindiciæ Epistolæ. S. Ignatii, Par. 1. Chap. x. xi. Bp. Stillingfleet's Ordination Sermon. Sermons, p. 371. Bp. Hoadley's Defence of Episcopal Ordination, p. 418, 421. Maurice's Vindication of the Primitive Church, p. 433. Scriveneri Apologia pro Ecclesiâ Anglicanâ, p. 81, 82.

† Nalson, Vol. I. p. 664.

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to the House, and very unadvisedly interrupted their Debates by the following Speech.

The Title of it, *His Majesty's Speech to both Houses, at the Banqueting-House, Whitehall, Jan. 25. 1640.* (King Charles's Works, p. 169.) The Speech itself is so mangled, and disjointed by Mr. Neal, that I should find it a difficult Matter to put it together again; and for that Reason refer the Reader to the Authority above-mentioned.

Neal, p. 421. Mr. White consider'd the present Bishops of the Church, with regard to their Baronies, their Temporalities, and their Spiritualities.

Mr. Echard's Character of Mr. White is this, * 'That he was a Gentleman of the *Middle-Temple*, a Member of the House of Commons, chiefly employ'd as a Chairman of a Committee for ejecting of scandalous Ministers, in which he shew'd himself a barbarous Persecutor of the Clergy, both as to their Estates and their Reputations; and at last died distracted, crying out, how many Clergymen, their Wives and Children he had undone.'

This was the Man, who publish'd a scandalous Tract 1643, entitled, † *The first Century of scandalous malignant Priests, &c.* Dr. Nalson makes the following Observation upon White's, and the other Speeches against the Bishops of those Times, and Episcopacy:

|| 'Thus did these *Vulturs* and *Harpies* accuse the *Innocent Doves*, upon whom they intended to prey, and quarry; but God be praised, we have found, tho' by woful Experience, who were the Occasion of all these dreadful Miseries; those Wars and Bloodshed, that Tyranny and Usurpation, under which the Nation so long groan'd; which from the Day, it saw the Bishops excluded from

* Echard's History of England, Vol. II. p. 513.

† Penes me.

‡ Nalson, Vol. II. p. 887.

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‘ the Execution of their Function, and from their
 ‘ Right, never saw one happy Day, till by the
 ‘ Miracle of Providence, they were, by the Resto-
 ‘ ration of the Illustrious Son of the glorious Mar-
 ‘ tyr, repossess’d of their Office and Right.’

Neal, p. 426. Lord George Digby, *an eminent Royalist*, spoke with great warmth against the Root and Branch Petition, and with no less Zeal for the Reformation of Grievances. Mr. Neal has given us the warm Passages of his Speech against the Bishops. But the main of his Objections against the Petition, and his *Encomium* upon *Episcopal Government*, he has prudently omitted.

* ‘ I look not (says he) on this Petition as a
 ‘ Petition from the City of London; but I know
 ‘ not what, 15000 Londoners, all that could be got
 ‘ to subscribe, &c. I don’t know, I protest, to what
 ‘ good end it can be committed, being so full of
 ‘ contemptible Things. But first, let me recall to
 ‘ your mind the manner of its Delivery; and I
 ‘ am confident there is no Man of Judgment, that
 ‘ will think it fit for a Parliament, under a Mo-
 ‘ narchy, to give countenance to irregular and tu-
 ‘ multuous Assemblies of People, be it for never
 ‘ so good an End: Besides, there is no Man of the
 ‘ least Insight into Nature or History, but knows
 ‘ the Danger, when either Time or *pretended Stimu-*
 ‘ *lation of Conscience*, hath once given a Multitude
 ‘ Agitation, contemptible Things swarm. Sir, in
 ‘ the 8, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17 Articles of this Pe-
 ‘ tition; did ever any body think that the Gaieties
 ‘ of Ovid, or Tom Coryat’s Muse, should by 15000
 ‘ have been presented to a Parliament, as a Mo-
 ‘ tive for the Extirpation of Bishops. The Scandal
 ‘ of the *Rochet*, the *Lawn-Sleeves*, the *Four-Cor-*
 ‘ *ner Cap*, the *Cope*, the *Surplice*, the *Tippet*, the

* Rushworth, Vol. IV. p. 171, 172.

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‘ Hood, the *Canonical Coat*, &c. may pass with Arguments of the same Weight. Only let me observe upon it (Mr. Speaker) that one would swear the Penners of the Article, had the pluming of some Bishops already, they are so acquainted with every Feather of them. I know not whether it be more preposterous to infer the Extirpation of Bishops from such weak Arguments, or to attribute, as they do, to Church-Government all the Civil Grievances; not a Patent, not a Monopoly, not the Price of a Commodity raised, but these Men make Bishops the cause of it. For the bold part of this Petition, Sir, what can be of greater Presumption, than for the Petitioners, not only to prescribe to the Parliament what, and how it shall do, but for a Multitude to teach a Parliament, what is and what is not the Government according to God’s Word. Besides, what is the Petition against? Is it not against the Government of the Church of *England*, establish’d by Acts of Parliament? Is it not against the Liturgy? Against several Forms of Divine Service, ratified by the same Authority? Believe me, Mr. Speaker, all the Reverence and Authority which we expect from Future Times to our own Acts hereafter, depends upon our upholding the Dignity of what former Parliaments have done; even in those things which in their due time they may desire, and intend to reverse.

* ‘ Episcopacy (says he) is a Function deduced through all Ages of Christ’s Church from the *Apostles* Times, and continued the most venerable and sacred Order Ecclesiastical; a Function dignified by the Learning and Piety of many Fathers of the Church, glorified by so many Martyrdoms in the Primitive Times, and some since our own

* *Rushworth*, Vol. IV. p. 173.

, blessed Reformation: A Government admired
 ‘ (I speak it knowingly) by the Learnedest of the
 ‘ Reformed Churches abroad; and lastly, a Go-
 ‘ vernment under which (till these late Years) this
 ‘ Church hath so flourished and fructified. That
 ‘ such a Government, such a Function, should at
 ‘ the *Fag-end* of 1640 Years, be found to have such
 ‘ a *close Devil* in it, as no Power can *exorcise*, no
 ‘ Law restrain, appears to me a thing very im-
 ‘ probable. I profess, I am deceiv’d, if *Triennial*
 ‘ *Parliaments* will not be a *Circle*, able to keep many
 ‘ a *worse Devil* in order.’

Neal, p. 428. *Surely the Bishops must have behav’d very ill in the late Times, that their very best Friends could load them with such Reproaches.*

My Lord Falkland, who was as severe as any one against some of the Order, speaks with Respect of others, as appears from his Speech; (*Neal*, p. 425.)
 ‘ And now, even in this great Defection of the Or-
 ‘ der, there are some that have been neither Proud
 ‘ nor Ambitious; some that have been learned Op-
 ‘ posers of *Popery*, and zealous Suppressers of *Armi-
 ‘ nianism*, between whom, and their Inferior Clergy,
 ‘ there have been no Distinction in frequent Preach-
 ‘ ing; whose Lives are untouch’d, not only by
 ‘ Guilt, but by Malice. [Scarce to be equall’d by
 ‘ those of any Condition, or excell’d by those in
 ‘ any *Calendar*;’ omitted by Mr. *Neal*.]

Neal, p. 430. Andreas ab Habernsfield, the Queen of Bohemia’s Chaplain, advised his Grace of a Popish Conspiracy, against the King and the Church, of England.

* The Design (if any) was against the King, his Grace, and the Protestant Religion. *Nalson* says, ‘ the Relation is insert’d by him, in regard
 ‘ it is so clear a Vindication of his Majesty, and the

* *Nalson*, Vol. I. p. 467. *Laud’s Troubles and Trial*, p. 569.

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Archbishop, from the horrid Calumny of intending to introduce *Poper*y; which was the fatal Engine that supported the Rebellion, and brought those Illustrious Lives to Infamous and Untimely Ends; as also, that it affords much Light to the secret Influence, which Cardinal *Richelieu* and the *Jesuits* gave, both to the *Scottish* Commotions, and the *English* Rebellion. For these Serpents, who in disguise mutually crawl'd both about the Court and Country, mutually exasperated them one against the other; animating the King against his Subjects, as designing against his Crown and Dignity; and the Subjects against their Prince, as aiming at the Subversion of their Laws, Liberties, and Religion. Which Jealousies meeting with discontented Persons, form'd such deep Impressions in their Minds, and Thousands of deluded People, as occasioned all those Tragical Effects hereafter related.

Neal, p. 431. A Gentleman having given Information in open Court, to one of the Judges of the King's-Bench, that in one Parish in the City of Westminster, there were above six Thousand Recusants; the Committee appointed Mr. Haywood, an active Justice of the Peace, to collect and bring in a List of the Names of all Recusants within that City and Liberties; for which purpose, all the Inhabitants were summoned to appear and take the Oaths in Westminster-Hall: but whilst the Justice was in the Execution of his Office, and pressing one James to take them, the Wretch drew out his Knife, and stab'd the Justice in open Court, telling him, he gave him that, for persecuting poor Catholics. The old Gentleman sunk down with the Wound, but by the Care of Surgeons was recover'd, and the Criminal taken into Custody.

This Gentleman had done the Part of a fair Historian, had he mention'd the Notice the King took of this barbarous Action. But instead of this, in

the Margin, he says, *the King favours them*. Which shows what an *Impartial* Historian we have to deal with.

‘ The Speaker (says *Rushworth*, Part 3. Vol. 4. p. 57.) deliver'd a Message from his Majesty to this effect; That his Majesty takes notice of a foul and horrible Fact, committed on *Saturday* last in his own Palace, upon Mr. *Haywood*, while he was employ'd in the Service of the House of Commons; and doth recommend it to the Parliament, to take course for a speedy and exemplary Punishment.

‘ The honourable Persons near the Chair, are desired in the Name of this House, to return humble Thanks to his Majesty for his gracious Message, and the great Care expressed for the Safety, and Preservation of this Assembly. [*Id. Ib.*]

Neal, p. 434. Goodman himself was not executed, tho' the King promised to leave him to the Law, and he himself petitioned, like *Jonah the Prophet*, to be thrown over-board, to allay the Tempest between the King and his Subjects. Such was his Majesty's Attachment to this People, to the apparent Hazard of the Protestant Religion, and the Peace of his Kingdoms; and to the sacrificing all good Correspondence between himself and this Parliament.

I am sorry to say, that such is this Gentleman's Attachment to the *Good Old Cause*, that he will stick at nothing, to blast the Reputation of the best of Kings, and the best of *Christians*. Goodman's Petition was very remarkable, and I think shew'd the Man deserving of Compassion; 'tis as follows:

‘ The humble Petition of *John Goodman* condemn'd; That whereas your Majesty's *Petitioner* had been informed of a great Discontent in a great many of your Majesty's Subjects, at the gracious Mercy your Majesty was freely pleas'd to shew unto your *Petitioner*, by the suspending of the

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Execution of Sentence of Death, pronounced against your Petitioner for being a *Romish* Priest; these are humbly to beseech your Majesty, rather to remit your *Petitioner*, to *their* Mercy that are discontented, than to let him live, the Subject of so great Discontent of your People against your Majesty. For if it had pleas'd God to give me the Grace, to desire with the Prophet, that if this Storm be rais'd for my sake, I may be cast into the Sea, that others may avoid the Tempest; this is, most sacred Sovereign, the *Petition* of him, that should esteem his Blood well shed, to cement up the Breach between your Majesty and your Subjects upon this Occasion.

Ita testor John Goodman.

* ' How much guilty soever he was (says *Nalson*) as a *Priest*, and a *Papist*; yet certainly it was a piece of *Gallantry* which could not but most sensibly touch his Majesty's Mind with some Compassion, and will in a great measure justify his Majesty, from the Aspersions cast upon him by his Enemies, for interceding for this *Priest*: whose uncommon Petition to fall a Sacrifice to the Justice of the Law, to advance his Majesty's Interest and Affairs, will assuredly one day rise up in Judgment against those, who calling themselves the only true *Protestants*, did, to their eternal Infamy, afterwards so liberally sacrifice their Lives in open and detestable Rebellion against their Royal Sovereign. And that which will make their Crime look more black and monstrous, will be, that Posterity must needs conclude, that King *Charles* was a Prince of incomparable Goodness, when they shall see both his *Popish* and *Protestant* Subjects petition to die for the Establishment of his Peace and Tranquillity; as e'er long the Reader shall find the Earl of *Strafford* did, as well as

* *Nalson*, Vol. I. p. 746.

‘ the *Romish* Priest.’ How far *Mr. Neal* comes under this Reflection of *Dr. Nalson's*, I leave it to himself to judge. But after all, tho’ these sanctified *Patriots* of *Mr. Neal's*, could clamour against every Act of common Humanity from the King to his *Papish* Subjects; yet when it serv’d their own Turn or Interest, I find they scrupled not to let even *Papists* escape, and those probably far less deserving of Mercy than *Goodman*. The King in his Declaration to all his loving Subjects, concerning the Proceedings of the present Parliament, *August 12. 1642.* has the following remarkable Words :

* ‘ What Sums of Money have been given to, and
 ‘ what Contracts have been made with some Mem-
 ‘ bers of either House, who are of this powerful
 ‘ Faction we complain of, for preserving this Man
 ‘ from being question’d, and promoting an Accu-
 ‘ sation against that Man, for managing such a
 ‘ Cause, and procuring such an Order, we are very
 ‘ well able to give particular Information; which
 ‘ we shall willingly do, when there may be such a
 ‘ sober and secure Debate, as becomes the Free-
 ‘ dom and Dignity of Parliament, and the Wit-
 ‘ nesses now within their Reach, may neither be aw’d
 ‘ nor tamper’d with before Trial: for how little
 ‘ Care there is taken for Discoveries of this nature,
 ‘ appears by that, which (upon a Complaint of
 ‘ Slander against *Mr. Pym*) was justified, and the
 ‘ Author averr’d against him, for taking *Thirty*
 ‘ *Pounds Bribe*, to preserve a *Papist* from legal Pro-
 ‘ secution; which has been so long suffer’d to sleep
 ‘ at a Committee.’

Neal, p. 436. *The King being weary of his Par-
 liament, and desirous to preserve his Servant, [viz.
 Lord Strafford] consented to some Persons in great
 Trust about the Court, to bring the Army that was*

* *Husband's Exact Collections*, p. 560.

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raised against the Scots up to London. Lord Clarendon says, the last Motion was rejected with Abhorrence, and that the Gentleman that made it, was the Person that discover'd the whole Plot. The Conspirators met in the Queen's Lodgings at Whitehall, where a Petition was drawn for the Officers of the Army to sign, and to present to his Majesty, with a Tender of their Readiness to wait upon him in Defence of his Prerogative, against the turbulent Spirit of the House of Commons; the Draught was shown to the King, and sign'd in Testimony of his Majesty's Approbation C. R. But the Plot being discovered to the Earl of Bedford, &c. with the Names of the Conspirators, all of them absconded, and some of them fled immediately into France.

To pass over the Impropriety of the Expression, That all of them absconded, and yet some of them immediately fled; Lord Clarendon's Account of this formidable Plot, (with whom agrees the Earl of Manchester in his Memoirs, and Mr. Neal I hope will allow, that he was not too much prejudic'd in favour of the Court;) is this. * ' There was a Discovery
' of some Meetings and Discourses, between some
' Persons of near Relation to his Majesty's Service,
' and some Officers of the Army, about the High
' Proceedings of the Parliament, and of some Ex-
' pedients that might reduce them to better Tem-
' per; which was no sooner intimated to some of
' the great Managers, than the whole was formed
' and shaped into a bloody Design against the Par-
' liament, &c. It may be observ'd (says he) from
' what little Accidents and small Circumstances,
' by the Art and Industry of those Men, the
' greatest Matters have flow'd towards the Confu-
' sion we have since labour'd under.'

* Lord Clarendon's Hist. Vol. I. p. 191, &c.

Then

Then he gives an Account of the Correspondence, and observes upon it; * ‘ For ought I could ever observe, by what was afterwards reported in the House of Commons, or could learn from those that were more conversant with all the Secrets of that Design, there was never the least Intention of working farther upon the Affections of the Army, than to preserve them from being corrupted, or made use of, for imposing unjust and unreasonable Things upon the King. And all that the King ever so much as consented should be done by them, was, that as most Counties in *England*, or rather the *Factionous* and *Seditious* Persons in most Counties, had been induc’d to frame or sign a Petition to the Parliament, against the established Government of the Church, with other Clauses scandalous to the Government of the State too; so the Officers of the Army should subscribe this following Petition, which was brought engross’d to his Majesty for his Approbation; before they would presume to recommend it to any for their Subscription.’

Then follows the Petition to the King, and the two Houses, setting forth his Majesty’s great Concessions to his People, notwithstanding which, there was a seditious Spirit kept up, and Persons encouraged to beset the Parliament-house, and *Whitehall* itself; they desire that the Ringleaders of Tumults may be punish’d, in order to which, they offer their Service to guard the *King* and the *Parliament*, concluding in the following Words: “ Hoping we shall appear as considerable in the way of Defence to our gracious Sovereign, the Parliament, our Religion, and the establish’d Laws of the Kingdom, as what Number soever shall presume to violate them; so shall we by the

* Lord Clarendon’s Hist. Vol. I. p. 192, 193.

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“ Wisdom of your Majesty and the Parliament,
“ not only be vindicated from precedent Innova-
“ tions, but secur'd from the future that are threat-
“ ned; and more likely to procure more dangerous
“ Effects than the former; *and we shall pray, &c.*”

* “ His Majesty having read the Petition, and
“ conceiving that the Authority of the Army might
“ seem of as great Importance for the good Recep-
“ tion of so much Reason and Justice, as the Subscrip-
“ tion of a Rabble, had been alledg'd often to be,
“ for the Countenance of what in truth was Mu-
“ tinous and Seditious, said, “ That he approved
“ well enough of it, and was content that it might
“ be subscrib'd by the Officers of the Army if they
“ desired it.” “ The Officer, who presented the
“ Draught to his Majesty, told him, “ That very
“ few of the Army had yet seen it; and that it
“ would be a great Countenance to it, if, when
“ it was carried to the Principal Officers, who
“ were first to sign it, any Evidence might
“ be given to them, that it had passed his Maje-
“ sty's Approbation; otherwise they might possi-
“ bly make scruple, for fear of offending him.”
“ Thereupon his Majesty took a Pen, and writ at
“ the bottom of the Petition *C. R.* as a Token that
“ he had perus'd and allow'd it: And so the Peti-
“ tion was carried down into the Country where the
“ Army lay, and was sign'd by some Officers, but
“ was soon quash'd, and no more heard of, till the
“ discovery of the pretended Plot, &c.

“ At the first Meeting, one of the Persons that was
“ introduc'd, after he had heard the calm Proposi-
“ tions of the rest; and that their Design was only
“ to observe and defend the Laws, that neither the
“ Arguments of the *Scots*, nor the Reputation of
“ their Army, might compel the King to consent

' to the Alteration of the Government of the
 ' Church, nor to remove the Bishops out of the
 ' House of Peers, or the Power of any discontented
 ' Persons, by their tumultuary Petitions, impose
 ' upon, or diminish the just legal Power of the
 ' King; told them, these Resolutions would pro-
 ' duce very little Effect for his Majesty's Service;
 ' that there was but one way to do his Majesty nota-
 ' ble Service, which was by bringing up the Army
 ' presently to *London*, which would so awe the Par-
 ' liament, that they would do any thing the King
 ' commanded. There was not (as I have been
 ' credibly inform'd) a Man in the Company, that
 ' did not perfectly abhor (or seem'd so to do)
 ' that odious Propositi^on, but contented themselves
 ' with making such Objections against it, as ren-
 ' der'd it ridiculous and unpracticable, and so the
 ' Meeting for that time dissolv'd. Whether the
 ' Person that propos'd this desperate Advice, did
 ' it only as a Bait, to draw an Opinion from other
 ' Men, (for he had a perfect Dislike and Malice to
 ' some of the Company) or whether the Disdain to
 ' have his Counsel rejected, or the fear that it might be
 ' discovered to his disadvantage, wrought upon him,
 ' I know not; but the same, or the next Day he
 ' discover'd all, and more than pass'd, to some of
 ' those, who seem'd to take most care for the Pub-
 ' lick: Intimated to them, how he was startled
 ' with the horror of the Design, and how faithfully
 ' he resolv'd to serve the Commonwealth, or to
 ' lose his Life in the Attempt; yet at the same
 ' time acted his Part at Court with all possible De-
 ' monstrati^on of abhorring the Proceeding of the
 ' Parliament to that degree, that he offer'd to un-
 ' dertake with a Crew of Officers and good Fel-
 ' lows, to rescue the Earl of *Strafford* from the
 ' Lieutenant of the *Tower*, as they should bring
 ' him

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him to his Trial, and so to enable him to make an escape into foreign Parts.

But as they thought not fit to publish the whole Discovery till three Months after, so they made extraordinary use of it by Parts, from the Instant they receiv'd the Secret; it being their Custom, when they found the heat and distemper of the House (which they endeavour'd to keep up, by the sharp mention and remembrance of former Grievances and Pressures) in any degree allay'd by some gracious Act, or gracious Profession of the King's; to warm and inflame them again, with a Discovery or Promise of Discovery of some notable Plot, or Conspiracy against themselves, to dissolve the Parliament by the *Papists*, or some other way; in which they would be sure, that somewhat should always reflect upon the Court.* And Mr. *Baxter* informs us, * 'That the Officers who were examin'd, confess'd, that some near the King (but not he himself) treated with them about bringing up the Army; but none of them talk'd of destroying, or forcing the Parliament.' For a fuller Account of this *Sham Plot*, I refer the Reader to the Authorities cited in the † Margin.

Neal, p. 439. *Lord Digby*, in his famous Speech against the Bill of Attainder, wherein he washes his Hands of the Blood of the Earl of Strafford, has nevertheless these Expressions: I confidently believe him to be the most dangerous Minister, and the most insupportable to free Subjects, that can be character'd; I believe his Practices have been as High and Tyrannical, as any Subject ever ventur'd upon; and the Malignity of them as greatly aggravated by those Abilities of his, whereof God has given him the Use, but

* *Baxter's Life*, Folio, p. 27.

† *Clarendon's Hist.* Vol. I. p. 208, 209, 210. *Echard's History of England*, Vol. II. p. 248.

the Devil the Application. In a word, I believe him still that grand Apostate to the Commonwealth, who must not expect to be pardoned in this World, till he be sent to the next.

The following Paragraphs he has kept out of view, (for what Reason, he best knows.) And they plainly disprove the Treason.

* And yet let me tell you, Master Speaker, my Hand must not be to that Dispatch: I protest, as my Conscience stands informed, I would rather it were off. Let me unfold unto you the Mystery, Master Speaker: I will not dwell much upon justifying unto you, my seeming Variance at this time, from what I was formerly, by putting you in mind of the difference between Prosecutors, and Judges: How misbecoming that Fervour would be in a Judge, which was perhaps commendable in a Prosecutor. Judges we are now, and must put on another Personage.

It is honest and noble to be earnest in the discovery of Truth, but when that has been brought as far as it can to light, our Judgment thereupon ought to be calm and cautious. In Prosecution upon probable Grounds, we are accountable only for our Industry or Remissness; but in Judgment, we are deeply responsible to God Almighty for its Rectitude, or Obliquity. In Cases of Life, the Judge is God's Steward of the Party's Blood, and must give a strict Account for every Drop. But as I told you, Master Speaker, I will not insist long upon this Ground of Difference in me now, from what I was formerly. The truth on't is, Sir, the same Ground, whereupon I, (with the rest of the Five, to whom you committed the Consideration of the Lord *Strafford*) brought down our Opinion, that it was fit he should be accus'd

* Speeches and Passages of this great and happy Parliament, p. 216, &c. *Rushworth*, Vol. IV. p. 225.

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of Treason; upon the same Ground I was engaged with Earnestness in his Prosecution; and had the same Ground remain'd in that Force of Belief with me, which till very lately it did, I should not have been tender in his Condemnation. But truly, Sir, to deal plainly with you, that Ground of our Accusation, that Spur to our Prosecution, and that which should be the Basis of my Judgment of the Earl of *Strafford* as to Treason, is to my Understanding quite vanish'd away. This it was, Master Speaker, his advising the King to employ the Army of *Ireland* to reduce *England*; this I was assured would be proved, before I gave my Consent to his Accusation. I was confirmed in the same Belief during the Prosecution, and fortified in it most of all since Sir *Henry Vane's* preparatory Examinations, by the Assurances which that worthy Member Mr. *Pym* gave me, that his Testimony would be made convincing by some Notes of what past at the *Junto*, concurrent with it, which I ever understanding to be of some other Counsellor, you see now, prove but a Copy of the same Secretary's Notes, discover'd and produced in the manner you have heard; and those, *such disjointed Fragments of the venomous part of Discourses, no Results, no Conclusion of Counsels, which are the only things which Secretaries shou'd register, there being no use at all of the other, but to accuse and bring Men into danger.* But, Sir, this is not that which overthrows the Evidence with me, concerning the Army of *Ireland*, nor yet that all the rest of the *Junto* upon their Oaths remember nothing of it. But this, Sir, which I will tell you, is that which works with me under favour, to an utter overthrow of his Evidence, as unto that of the Army of *Ireland*. Before, whilst I was Prosecutor, and under eye of Secrecy, I might not discover any Weakness of the Cause, which

S

now,

' now, as I judge, I must. Master Secretary was
 ' examined thrice upon Oath at the Preparatory
 ' Committee. The first time he was questioned to
 ' all the Interrogatories; and to that part of the
 ' seventh, which concerns the Army in *Ireland*, he
 ' said positively in these Words; *I cannot charge*
 ' *him with that; but for the rest, he desires time to*
 ' *recollect himself, which was granted him.* Some
 ' Days after, he was examined a second time, and
 ' then deposeth these Words concerning the King's
 ' being absolved from Rules of Government, and
 ' so forth, very clearly. *But being prest to the part*
 ' *concerning the Irish Army, again can say nothing to*
 ' *that.*'

' Here we thought we had done with him, till
 ' divers Weeks after, my Lord of *Northumberland*,
 ' and all others of the *Junto*, denying to have
 ' heard any thing concerning those Words of re-
 ' ducing *England* by the *Irish Army*; it was thought
 ' fit to examine the Secretary once more, and then
 ' he deposes these Words to have been said by the
 ' Earl of *Strafford* to his Majesty: *You have an*
 ' *Army in Ireland, which you may employ here to re-*
 ' *duce (or some Word to that Sense) this Kingdom.*
 ' Mr. Speaker, these are the Circumstances, which, I
 ' confess with my Conscience, thrust quite out of
 ' doors that grand Article of our Charge, concern-
 ' ing his desperate Advice to the King, of employ-
 ' ing the *Irish Army* here. Let not this, I beseech
 ' you, be driven to an Aspersion of Master Secre-
 ' tary, as if he should have sworn otherwise, than
 ' he knew or believed, he is too worthy to do
 ' that; only let thus much be inferred from it,
 ' that he who twice upon Oath, in time of Recol-
 ' lection, could not remember any thing of such a
 ' Business, might well a third time misremember
 ' somewhat: and in this Business, the difference of
 ' one Letter; *here, for there; or that, for this;*
 ' quite

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quite alters the Case; the latter being more probable, since it is confest of all hands, that the Debate then was concerning a War with *Scotland*: and you may remember, that at the Bar, he once said, *to employ there*. And thus, Mr. *Speaker*, I have faithfully given you an Account what it is, that hath blunted the Edge of the *Hatchet*, or *Bill*, with me, towards my Lord *Strafford*.'

Sir *Edward Walker*, in his Life of *Thomas Earl of Arundel* observes, '* That the great share the Earl [of *Strafford*] had in his Master's Favour, and his too great Parts and Abilities to oppose their Designs, hasten'd his Ruin. As for his Treasons, they were of so nice and constructive a nature, no Man in Authority since, even to a Petty-Constable, but had committed greater.'

Neal, p. 441. *When the Plot to dissolve the Parliament broke out, the Citizens declar'd they wou'd lend nothing upon Parliamentary Security, because their Sitting was so precarious.*

The Methods these Gentlemen took to make the King odious, and themselves acceptable to the People, was, by inventing all manner of Lyes: This was the Mother of all their *Scare-Crow* Plots †; of the King's coming with an Army of *Papists* to murder all the *Protestants* ‖; of the *Pope's Bull* newly come into *England*, for the more effectual Prosecution of the *Catholick War* **; of the King's coming at Midnight with 1500 Horse, to sack the City, and cut their Throats; which Report wrought so effectually, that no less than Forty Thousand Inhabitants put themselves in Arms at an instant, the Women also providing scalding Water to throw upon the Cavaliers, bringing out Forms, Stools,

* Sir *Edward Walker's* Historical Discourses, p. 219.

† *Orleans's* Hist. of the Revolutions in *England*, p. 51.

‖ *Dugdale's* Short View of the Troubles, p. 129.

** *Dugdale*, p. 82.

and empty Tubs into the Streets to hinder the Horse *; of a wonderful and amazing Design of blowing up the *Thames*, to drown the City †; of an Army of *Papists* training under ground ‖; of a Plaister taken from a Plague-Sore, sent to Mr. *Pym* in a Letter, into the House Commons; that he being taken with it, it might spread over the whole House, and endanger all the Members, who (God knows) were infected with a worse Plague long before, which infected the whole House, and spread its direful Effects over the whole Nation.

'Twould be endless to multiply ** Particulars, for all our Historians are filled with this kind of Religious dealing with the King, and his Friends: and 'tis sufficient to observe with Mr. *Wagstaff* ††, 'That there are Ten Thousand more; and to repeat half of them, would fill a Volume. 'Tis enough to observe in short, that that cursed Rebellion was begotten by Lyes; that it was born with Lyes; that it was brought up, nourished, fed, and maintain'd by Lyes and Perjury, and at last it died with a Lye in its mouth.'

Neal, p. 441. This gave rise to a Motion for the Continuance of the present Parliament, till they should dissolve themselves; which was presently turned into a short Bill, and pass'd both Houses with very little Opposition, as the only Expedient that cou'd be thought of to support Publick Credit: it enacts, That this present

* *Echard's History of England*, Vol. II. p. 288. Dr. *Hollingsworth's* second Defence of King *Charles* the First, against *Ludlow*, p. 49.

† *Echard*, Ibid.

‖ *Nelson's Collections*, Vol. II. p. 496. A Damnable Treason, by a contagious Plaister of a Plague-Sore, wrapt up in a Letter, and sent to Mr. *Pym*, 1641. Penes me.

** *Persecutio Undecima*, or the Church's Eleventh Persecution, Printed 1648. reprinted 1681. p. 33. Mr. *Wagstaff's* Vindication of King *Charles* the Martyr, proving that he was Author of ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ, p. 124.

†† *Wagstaff*, Ibid.

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Parliament shall not be adjourn'd, prorogued, or dissolved, without their own Consent, and was signed by Commission, with the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of Strafford.

Lord Clarendon observes *, ' That this was no sooner offer'd, than the Reasonableness of the Objection was enforc'd, and the Necessity of finding some Expedient to satisfy the People of the gracious Intentions and Resolutions of the King, which were most unquestionable, (for in all those Articles of Time, when they were to demand some unreasonable Thing from him, they spared no dutiful mention of the Piety and Goodness of his own Princely Nature, or large Promises what Demonstrations of Duty they should shortly make to him) no way could be so sure as an Act of Parliament, &c. That this Parliament should not be adjourn'd, prorogued, or dissolved, &c.'

' † After the passing of these two Bills, the Temper and Spirit of the People both within and without the Walls of the two Houses, grew marvellous calm, and composed; there being likewise about that time passed by the King, the two Bills for taking away the *Star-Chamber Court*, and the *Higb Commission*, so that there was not a Grievance or Inconvenience, Real or Imaginary, to which there was not a thorough Remedy applied; and therefore all Men expected, that both Armies would immediately be disbanded, and such Returns of Duty and Acknowledgement made to the King, as might be agreeable to their Professions, and the Royal Favour he had vouchsafed to his People.'

Neal, Ibid. While the Commons were alarm'd with the Discovery of the Plot, and the Flight of the Conspirators, Mr. Pym moved that both Houses might

* Hist. Reb. Vol. I. p. 205.

† Id. Ib.

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join in some Band of Defence, in security of their Li-
berties.

* Lord Clarendon observes of these Conspirators, (as Mr. Neal calls them) ' That finding that what
' had passed so privately amongst themselves, had
' been discover'd; and was like to pass a severe
' Inquisition from *them*, who made *Glosses* and *Com-*
' *ments* as they pleas'd, upon what other Men spoke
' or did, and not knowing how much more than
' the Truth had been informed, or what Interpre-
' tation should be made upon that which was the
' Truth, resolved not to trust themselves with such
' Judges,' (whose Formality was first to imprison,
and after at their leisure to examine) so fled into
France. And Mr. Echard †, ' That Colonel Go-
' ring, the main Discoverer, was caressed by the
' leading Members, as a true Friend to the Publick;
' and the Lord Digby, for invalidating his Evidence,
' and aspersing his Fidelity, was publicly ex-
' pelled the House: this was only to shew their
' Resentments; for on the same Day he was called
' by his Majesty's Writ unto the House of Peers,
' dared 10th of June.'

Neal, p. 442. Accordingly, the following Prote-
station was drawn up, and subscribed the next Day by
the whole House, &c. May 4. This Protestation
was taken by all the Peers in Parliament, except the
Earl of Southampton and Lord Roberts. Then
follows in Lord Clarendon, but omitted by Mr.
Neal ‖, ' who positively refused it, alledging that
' there was no Law that enjoin'd it, and the Conse-
' quence of such voluntary Engagements might
' produce Effects that were not then intended;
' which, says Lord Clarendon, was very wisely consi-
' der'd.'

* Ib. p. 197.

† Echard's Hist. Vol. II. p. 250.

‖ Hist. Vol. I. p. 198.

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Neal, *Ibid.* *Their Lordships indeed would have interpreted those Words, the true Reformed Protestant Religion, expressed in the Doctrine of the Church of England, to have included the Government and Hierarchy of the Church.*

And they had good reason so to do; for Lord Clarendon observes*, ‘ That well-affected Persons, who were jealous of no other Design than the Alteration of the Government of the Church, thought they had obliged those rigid Reformers from any such Attempt, when they had once bound themselves, “ To maintain and defend the Protestant Religion, express’d in the Doctrine of the Church of England, there being no other Scheme of the Doctrine of the Church of England, than the thirty-nine Articles; of which one is, to preserve the Government of the Church by Bishops.” ’

Neal, p. 443. *But both Houses declared, that by these Words was and is meant, only the publick Doctrine professed in the said Church, &c. and that the said Words are not to extend to the maintenance of any Form of Worship, Discipline, or Government, or Rites and Ceremonies.*

Lord Clarendon, one of his Authorities, contradicts this†; and says, ‘ This Explanation being thus procured in the House of Commons, without ever advising with the House of Peers, who had likewise taken the same Protestation, and in truth so contrary to the Intentions of most that took it.’ So that both Houses did not declare, &c. as Mr. Neal here asserts.

Neal, p. 444. *The Odium of putting a stop to the Protestation, fell upon the Bench of Bishops, who were already sinking under their own Weight.*

* Lord Clarendon’s Hist. Vol. I. p. 198.

† *Ib.* p. 199.

* This Day, says *Nelson*, the Bill for taking the Protestation being read in the House of Lords, it was by their Lordships urged; "That though they approved of the taking of it by the Members of each House, yet they did not of the general taking of it throughout the Kingdom: Upon which the Bill was dismissed, of which the Commons having notice, they presently laid it upon the *Bishops*, and the *Popish* Lords."

Neal. *The Loss of this Bill* [against Bishops Votes in Parliament] *with the resolute Behaviour of the Bishops, who were determined to part with nothing they were in possession of, inflamed the Commons, and made them conclude, there was no hopes of a Reformation, while they were a part of the Legislature.*

This Gentleman is not always too consistent with himself; he blames the King for his too great Concession, in making the Parliament perpetual, by which they were made a *co-ordinate Power*; and here he blames the Bishops for not giving up their unquestioned Right, which has been thought to be of antienter Date than the House of Commons.

Neal, p. 451. *The Bill* [for the Extirpation of Bishops, Deans, and Chapters,] *being drawn up by Mr. Saint John, was delivered to the Speaker by Sir Edward Deering, in a short Speech, in which he took notice of the Moderation of the House in the late Bill, &c. But this soft Method having proved ineffectual, by reason of their incorrigible Obstinacy; it was now necessary to put the Ax to the Root of the Tree: "I never was for Ruin, says he, so long as there was any hopes of Reforming; and now I profess, that if those Hopes revive and prosper, I will divide my self upon this Bill, and yield my Shoulders to underprop the Primitive, Lawful, and Just Episcopacy."*

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How little this unhappy Gentleman (says *Nelson*, in the Place referred to, p. 248.) had considered of this weighty Affair, and upon what slender Convictions either of his own Conscience, or the real Guilt of the Hierarchy, he employ'd his Parts and Eloquence, to persuade the Abolition of Episcopal Government; we have reason to believe, not only from his own Confession here, that he had scarce hastily perus'd the Bill, before he recommended it to the House, but from the sad Catastrophe of his Life, &c. Falling into the disfavour of the Faction for some After-Speeches, and endeavouring his own Vindication, he so enrag'd the Party, that his Book of Speeches was order'd to be burnt by the Hands of the common Hangman; and being expell'd the House, he was forced, to avoid Discovery, and the Fury of those Zealots, whose Cause he had so industriously asserted, to fly in the Disguise and Habit of a Priest, and to read Prayers in a Church; and not only so, but became an earnest Suitor to his Majesty for the Deanery, [*viz.* that of *Canterbury*]; notwithstanding his bringing in this Bill against *Deans and Chapters*, and his bitter Invective upon no other ground but Report, as he then confess'd; but being by the King justly denied this Preferment, he again turn'd *Apostate* to his Royal Master, endeavour'd by mean Submissions to reconcile himself to those whom he had call'd Rebels and Traitors; but being by them rejected also, he not long after ended his Life in Grief and Contempt.

Neal, p. 452. A little before the King went to Scotland, it was carried by a Majority of Thirty-one Voices, to read it [*viz.* the Bill against Bishops, &c.] a second Time, and commit it to a Committee of the whole House, in which Mr. Hyde [*Lord Clarendon*] was Chairman; who made use of so much Art and Industry,

266 Mr. NEAL'S II^d Vol. of the
dustry, to embarrass the Affair, that after 20 Days,
the Bill was dropp'd.

Lord Clarendon's Account, as follows: * 'How-
' ever, the Chairman gave some stop to their haste,
' for besides, that at the end of his Report every
' day to the House, before the House put the
' Question for the Concurrence in the Votes, he
' always enlarg'd himself against every one of them,
' and so spent them much time; when they were
' in the Heat and Passion of their Debate, they
' were oftentimes entangled in their Questions, so
' that when he reported to the House the Work of
' the Day, he did frequently report two or three
' Votes directly contrary, which in the Heat of
' their Debate, they had unwarily run into; and
' after near 20 Days spent in that manner, they
' found themselves very little advanc'd towards a
' Conclusion, and that they must review all that
' they had done: and the King being resolv'd to
' begin his Journey into Scotland, they were forced to
' discontinue their beloved Bill, and let it rest.'

Neal, p. 454. *The Deputies from the several Cathedrals drew up a Petition to the Lords and Commons for Council: But being inform'd, that the House would not allow them that Benefit, but if they had any thing to offer, they should appear and plead their own Cause; they made choice of Dr. John Hacket for their Council, &c. who made a labour'd Speech in their behalf, insisting chiefly on the Topicks of the Oxford Address.*

† *Nelson* observes, ' That for Fashion's sake,
' the Gentlemen who desir'd to speak something in
' defence of Deans and Chapters, were heard be-
' fore the House of Commons. And after Dr.
' *Burges* had inveigh'd against the singing of the
' Service, alledging, " That Devotion vanish'd

* Hist. Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 216.

† *Nelson's Collect.* Vol. II. p. 240.

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“ into Quavers ; and that *St. Paul's* Hymns were,
“ *Legentibus, non Cantantibus,* and had run a long
“ Harangue upon the necessary Use of Prayer,
“ and the Power of Preaching :” “ *Dr. Hacket*
“ made a learned Speech in defence of those Religious
“ Foundations, shewing how much they tended to
“ the Glory of God, the Advancement of true
“ Religion, promoting of Piety, Encouragement
“ of Learning, and the Good of the Common-
“ wealth.”

The following Words, (omitted by *Mr. Neal* :)
“ That he trusted in the Honour and Justice of this
“ honourable House, in regard, that tho’ they were
“ accus’d of great and flagitious Crimes, yet he could
“ not hear of the least Proof offered against them ;
“ and therefore he hoped, that they who professed
“ so much Sincerity in Religion, would never have
“ *St. Paul's* Censure deservedly laid upon them,
“ *Thou that abhorrest Idols, dost thou commit Sacri-*
“ *lege?* Which he did not see how it could be a-
“ voided, if they destroy those Religious Founda-
“ tions, which were dedicated, and set a-part for
“ the solemn Service and Honour of God. Con-
“ cluding, that upon the Ruin of the Rewards of
“ Industry and Learning, no Structure could be
“ rais’d but Ignorance ; and upon the *Chaos* of Ig-
“ norance, nothing but Confusion, Prophaneness,
“ Irreligion and Atheism.”

“ But alas (says *Nelson*) this was *Surdus canere.*”
And *Fuller* observes upon this Speech, * “ That
“ it was utter’d with such becoming Gravity, that
“ it was generally well resented, and wrought
“ much on the House for the present ; so that had
“ the aliening of such Lands been then put to the
“ Vote, some who conceiv’d themselves knowing
“ of the Sense of the House, concluded, it would

* Church-History, Book XI. p. 179.

‘ have been carried in the Negative, by more than
‘ fixscore Suffrages.’

Neal, p. 456. In the Afternoon, Dr. Cornelius Burgefs appear’d on the other side of the Question, and made a long Speech, concerning the Unprofitableness of those Corporations, &c. and in conclusion said, “ Though he apprehended it necessary to apply these
“ Foundations to better Purposes, it was by no means
“ lawful to alienate them from Publick and Pious
“ Uses, or to convert them to any Private Person’s
“ Profit.”

* ‘ If since, [says Fuller] Dr. Burgefs has been
‘ a large Purchaser of such Lands to himself; if
‘ since St. Andrew, the first converted, and St. Paul,
‘ the last converted [*Wells and London*] Apostle,
‘ have met in his *Purse*; I doubt not but he can
‘ give sufficient Reason for the same, both to him-
‘ self and any other, that shall question him there-
‘ in. Because he lately read his learned Lectures
‘ in St. Paul’s on the Criticisms of Conscience, no
‘ less carefully, than curiously weighing Satisfaction
‘ to Scruples; and if there be any Fault, so able a
‘ Confessor knows how to get his Absolution.’

Mr. Echard informs us, † ‘ That the Multi-
‘ tude was encourag’d by Dr. Burgefs and other
‘ furious Teachers; the former Methods were spi-
‘ rited up, and great Numbers of the meaner sort
‘ of People gather’d about the House of Lords,
‘ crying out, *no Bishops, no Popish Lords, &c.*’ In
another Place, he calls him the || *Seditious Dr. Bur-*
gefs. And elsewhere, ‡ ‘ One of the greatest
‘ *Boutefeus* of the whole Party, being the perpe-
‘ tual Trumpeter to the most violent Proceedings
‘ of that Parliament. He certainly was a great In-

• Church-History, Book XI. p. 179.

† *Echard*, Vol. II. p. 274.

|| *Echard*, Vol. II. p. 275.

‡ *Echard*, Vol. III. p. 154.

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strument in bringing on the Miseries of the Nation, in which he was so furiously active, and withal so scandalously subservient, that few or none have undertaken to vindicate him. He had been educated in the University of Oxford, and made Chaplain to the late King; But being disgusted by a Prosecution in the *High-Commission* Court, and his Ambition unanswer'd; he shew'd himself a true Time-server, and gain'd so much as to grow rich by the Purchase of Bishop's Lands. But after the Restoration he lost all, and living privately at *Watford* in *Hertfordshire*, he there died in great Want and Poverty, tormented, and eaten up by a Cancer in his Neck and Cheek; a fearful Instance of Rebellion and Sacrilege. An *Incendiary*, let his Religion or Cause be what it will, is never to be spared by an impartial Historian, whose Business is, to display the Honour, and expose the Infamy of all, that make a noise in the World.'

Neal, p. 459. *But none of these Votes passed into a Law, [viz. Votes of the Commons for abolishing Bishops, Deans and Chapters] nor was there the least Prospect of their being receiv'd by the Lords, as long as the Bishops were in the House, who stood together like a Wall against every Attempt of the Commons for Alterations in the Church, till by an unexpected Providence, they were broken in pieces, and made way for their own Ruin.*

Here Mr. Neal speaks so like himself, that I am really at a loss for an Answer.

Neal, p. 473. *To return to the Parliament, there were two Bills that affected the Prerogative, now ready for the Royal Assent; one to abolish the Court of High-Commission, the other to take away the Star-Chamber; to induce the King to pass them more readily, the Commons sent up a Money-Bill with them, but when the King came to the House, he passed the Money-Bill,*
but

but told the Houses he must take some Time to consider of the others; which disgusted the Commons so much that they return'd to their House, and immediately adjourn'd.

The King gives his Reason for so doing: * 'My Lords and Gentlemen, I come to do the Office, which I forbore to do on *Saturday* last, to give Determination to these two Bills: But before I do it, I must tell you, that I cannot but be very sensible of those Reports of Discontent, that I hear some have taken, for not giving my Consent on *Saturday*. Methinks it seems strange, that any one should think I could pass two Bills of that Importance, that these were, without taking some fit Time to consider of them; for it is no less than to alter in a great measure those Fundamental Laws Ecclesiastical and Civil, which many of my Predecessors have establish'd, &c.' He concludes, 'For my part I shall omit nothing, that may give you just Contentment, and study nothing more than your Happiness; and therefore I hope you shall see a very good Testimony of it, by passing these two Bills.'

Mr. Neal, in speaking of the Act for abolishing the High-Commission Court, makes the following Observation:

P. 474. *It was very extraordinary, that the Bishops, who were then in the House of Lords, should so suddenly suffer themselves to be surprized out of their Power.*

'Tis the hard Fate of the poor Bishops of those Times, scarce in one single Instance to have given Satisfaction to our Historian. In another place he observes, (p. 451.) *That the Loss of the Bill [for extirpating Bishops, Deans and Chapters,] was owing to the resolute Behaviour of the Bishops, who were de-*

* Nalson, Vol. II. p. 327. Kennet, p. 109. King Charles's Works, p. 173.

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ermined to part with nothing, they were in possession of; and here he wonders, that they should supremely suffer themselves to be surprized out of their Power.

From which two Places compared, I think it appears, that either his former Charge was groundless, or that he is not over-consistent with himself.

Neal, p. 475. Lord Clarendon says, *That the King was apprehensive the Body of the Bill exceeded the Title.* Then follows, omitted by Mr. Neal, 'And that instead of Reformation, it was opening a Door to the most scandalous Offences, and leaving Adultery, and Incest, as unpunishable as any other Acts of Good Fellowship.' *That he made a Pause in consenting to it, ['till both Houses might review whether the Remedy were proportionable to the Disease.] But that some Bishops prevail'd with his Majesty to sign it, to take off the Odium from that Bench, of their being Enemies to all Reformation; for it was insinuated (says the noble Historian) that since they oppos'd a due Regulation of their Power, there would be no way but to cut them off Root and Branch.*

* ' Whilst the Designers (says Lord Clarendon) were much pleas'd to find that Logick prevail, little doubting, but when they had taken away their Jurisdiction in the Church by that Bill, and their Dignity in the State, by removing them out of the House of Peers, they should find it no hard matter to abolish their Names and Titles out of the Kingdom, and enjoy the goodly Lands and Revenues, which could only make the Reformation perfect and compleat.'

This noble Historian further observes, upon passing these Bills and some others; † ' These Acts of Parliament, finished and enacted in the Times

* Vol. I. p. 222.

† Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 225.

‘ we speak of; besides the quitting the long-us’d
 ‘ Right of laying Impositions upon Foreign Trade,
 ‘ in the Preamble of the Bill for Tonnage and
 ‘ Poundage, and besides that fatal Bill for the Con-
 ‘ tinuance of this Parliament, will be acknowledg’d
 ‘ by an incorrupted Posterity, to be everlasting
 ‘ Monuments of the King’s Princely and Fatherly
 ‘ Affection to his People, and such an Obligation
 ‘ of Repose and Trust from his Majesty, in the
 ‘ Hearts of his Subjects, that no Expressions of
 ‘ Piety, Duty and Confidence from them, could
 ‘ have been more than a sufficient Return on their
 ‘ parts.’

*Neal, p. 479. It was observ’d, that the Strength and
 Courage of the House of Commons rose from their
 Confederacy with the Scots, whose Army in the North
 was entirely in their Interest; it was therefore re-
 solv’d in Council, to disunite that Nation (if possible)
 from the Parliament, and to bring them over to the
 King, by yielding every thing they should desire. For
 this purpose, his Majesty declar’d his Resolution to the
 two Houses to visit his Native Country in Person with-
 in 14 Days, and desir’d them to finish the Bills that
 were before them by that time. The Commons being a-
 ware of the Design, and apprehensive of Danger, if the
 King should put himself at the head of the English Ar-
 my in the North, sent away the Earl of Holland im-
 mediately with Money to pay them off: which was
 done without Mutiny or Disturbance.*

What Occasions had the Commons to apprehend
 any Danger? * ‘ A Message was brought from
 ‘ the Commons about disbanding, and to move his
 ‘ Majesty for a Proclamation for the more peace-
 ‘ able effecting of it; whereupon the two Houses
 ‘ petition’d his Majesty upon it, and he return’d
 ‘ this Answer: “ His Majesty has ever since this

* *Nation.*

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“ Parliament, taken the Advice of his Parli-
“ ment concerning the Army ; therefore he gives
“ his Consent concerning the disbanding of the
“ Horse, and that he hath given order that his
“ Attorney shall issue out such a Proclamation, as
“ is desir'd ; and his Majesty does recommend to
“ the Parliament the Care of disbanding the Horse,
“ that the Soldiers may be repaid the Money that
“ hath been taken from them for their Arms, that
“ so armed Men may not disperse themselves to the
“ disturbance of the Kingdom, that the Arms may
“ be restor'd to the Magazines for the Defence of
“ the King and Kingdom.” ‘ A Proclamation was
“ accordingly issued to that purpose, *August 8.*’

* ‘ His Majesty’s Impatience (says Lord *Clarendon*) to see both Armies disbanded, and this
‘ Kingdom freed from the Invasion, (both which
‘ he heartily desir’d;) and his desire to refresh him-
‘ self from the Vexation which the Houses, or some
‘ one of them, or some in one of them daily gave
‘ him, hurried him to that Expedition, without
‘ well weighing and preparing how to comport
‘ himself through it.’ And in the same Place, ‘ The
‘ unexpected Passion and Importunity to hinder his
‘ Majesty’s Journey into *Scotland*, was not well un-
‘ derstood ; and the less, for that the governing
‘ Party was divided upon it: Some of them with
‘ Trouble equal to what they had at any time
‘ expressed, insisted upon his not going ; others al-
‘ ledging that his Majesty was so far engag’d in it,
‘ that he could not in Honour recede from it.’

Neal, p. 484. *The King set out Post, August-10.*
and arriv’d at Edinburgh, in three or four Days.

† ‘ *Wednesday, August 11.* This Day the King
‘ set forward in the Afternoon upon his Journey to
‘ *Scotland*, accompanied with the *Prince Elector*,

* Vol. I. p. 219.

† *Nelson*, Vol. II. p. 439.

‘ the Duke of *Lenox*, now created Duke of *Richmond*, and the Marquiss of *Hamilton*.’

Neal, p. 485. *Upon the whole, the King's Journey into his Native Country did him no service; for tho' the Scots were pleas'd with his Majesty's Concessions, they durst not depend upon him, so long as he was under the Direction of the Queen and the English Bishops.*

This Gentleman uses the greatest Freedom with Majesty, that ever I met with. For these Considerations [says old Judge *Jenkyns*, who was a great Sufferer in those Times,] * ‘ The King's Party adher'd to him, the Law of the Land is their Birthright, their Guide; where that is not violated, no Offence is committed; they found the Commission of Array warranted by Law; they found the King in this Parliament, to have quitted Ship-Money, Knighthood-Money, seven Courts of Justice; consented to a *Triennial* Parliament, settled the Forest-Bounds, took away the Clerk of the Market of the Household, trusted the House with the Navy, passed an Act not to dissolve the Parliament without the House's Assent; no People in the World so free, if they would have been content with Oaths, Laws and Reason; and nothing more could, or can be devised to secure us, neither hath been in any time.’

‘ Never King (says Sir *John Wray*, a Person not over-much prejudic'd in the King's favour, in his Speech *November 12. 1640. p. 2.*) gave more full Content to his People, than his Majesty now hath done; and I hope never Subjects came with better Hearts and Affections to their King and Country, than we do.’

† ‘ Nay, granting for Argument's sake, That

* *Lex Terræ*, p. 15.

† Preface to *Seditious Preachers, Ungodly Teachers*, in answer to Dr. *Calamy's* Abridgment of *Baxter's* Life. Printed 1709.

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the Civil Rights of the People were violated in King *Charles's* Reign; does it not argue an implacable Hatred in the *Faction* to the Memory of that Unfortunate Prince, to take all Occasions to aggravate every Error and Miscarriage of Government, and yet pass over in silence, those many gracious Acts he readily consented to, for the taking away all Grievances both Real and Imaginary; besides, the Condition of that People must be very miserable, and deservedly too, that when their Properties have been invaded by their Prince, the most reasonable Securities, Concessions and Reparations shan't be thought satisfactory, but the whole Kingdom must be set in a flame, that their King may see his Error.*

Neal, p. 487. *The Order being read, the Ministers declared, that notwithstanding all that had passed in the late Commotions, the Scots Nation were still his Majesty's most loyal and faithful Subjects.*

Dr. *Nelson's* Observation upon this Declaration, is as follows: * The Scots, it seems, not being content after having invaded *England* in a hostile manner, put the Nation to above a Million of Money, through the Interest they had in the *Presbyterian* Faction, to purchase a Peace even upon their own Conditions, unless they might be publicly declar'd *Loyal and Faithful Subjects*; to such hard Terms did the obstinate Faction drive his Majesty, even while they made him all the Protestations of Humility, Duty, Loyalty and Allegiance; which certainly to a *Great Monarch*, who by Proclamation had justly stil'd them *Rebels*, and had led an Army against them, was a severe Request, not to say an Imposition; and which none but *Presbyterians*, or their Offspring, would have attempted. But such was the

* *Nelson*, Vol. II. p. 466.

' Fury and Violence of the Current, that there
 ' was no stopping or stemming of it, and his Ma-
 ' jesty found himself under such hard Circumstances
 ' and Difficulties, that he was even compell'd to
 ' yield to this most extravagant Request.' Again,
 * ' Thus did they not only resolve to Conquer, but
 ' to Triumph, and this was also to be a little kind of
 ' *Sibboleth* for the Clergy; for whoever did speak
 ' against this *Declaration of their Loyalty and Fide-*
 ' *lity* to their King, which it was very difficult for
 ' Men of Sense to believe, and therefore more hard
 ' for Men of Conscience to declare, were certain
 ' to be esteem'd *Malignants*, and upon the least
 ' Complaint, were sure to be sent for as *Delinquents*
 ' into Custody.'

Neal, p. 488. September 6. Order'd, That it be
 lawful for the Parishioners of any Parish to set up a
 Lecture, and to maintain an Orthodox Minister at
 their own Charge, to preach every Lord's Day, where
 there is no Preaching; and to preach one Day every
 Week, where there is no Weekly Lecture.

† ' If any grave and learned Minister (says
 ' Lord Clarendon) refused to admit into his Church
 ' a Lecturer recommended by them, (and I am
 ' confident that there was not from the beginning of
 ' this Parliament, one Orthodox and Learned
 ' Man recommended by them to any Church in
 ' England,) he was presently requir'd to attend
 ' upon the Committee, and not discharg'd till they
 ' met again; and then likewise if he escap'd Com-
 ' mitment, continued to his intolerable Loss and
 ' Trouble; few Men having the Patience to
 ' endure that Oppression, against which they
 ' knew not whither to appeal, and therefore in the
 ' end submitted to what they could not resist: and

* Nalson, p. 467.

† Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 233.

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‘ so all Pulpits were supplied with their *Seditious*
‘ and *Schismatical* Preachers.’

Neal, p. 488. *Because great Complaints were made to the House of the Idleness and Viciousness of the Country Clergy, another Committee was appointed to examine into such Complaints, and was called the Committee for Scandalous Ministers.*

By *Scandalous Ministers*, no more was meant than the being truly *Orthodox*, truly conformable to the Rules and Orders of the Church, and faithful and obedient Subjects to his Majesty. See an Account of their scandalous Committees, in *Dr. Walker's* *Sufferings of the Episcopal Clergy.*

Neal, p. 490. *The Lords in a Heat appointed their Order of January 16. to be reprinted, That Divine Service should be appointed by Act of Parliament, and that all that disturb that Order shall be punished according to Law.*

Ibid. Mr. Rapin observes, *That there seems no necessity for the Lords to renew this Order; but it was done out of Spleen and Revenge, because the Commons had made a Declaration against Innovations, and it was not doubted but the Bishops were the chief Authors of it.*

* ‘ Happy, says Nalson, for the Bishops, that only the Bishop of *Lincoln* was then present in the House, or assenting to the Vote; otherwise the whole Nation had rung of it, that they were the only Obstructors of the intended Reformation, and would have furnish'd their Enemies with one Argument more for the Extirpation of the Hierarchy, Root and Branch.’

Neal, *Ibid.* Lord Clarendon says, *That Seditious and Factionous Persons caused the Windows to be broke down in Churches, tore away the Rails, remov'd the Communion-Tables; [which in many Places had*

* Nalson, Vol. II. p. 485.

stood in that manner ever since the Reformation ; omitted] and committed many Insolent and Scandalous Disorders ; and that if any oppos'd them, they were sent for before the Committee.

Lord Clarendon adds, ' And when the Minister, and the graver and more substantial Sort of Inhabitants us'd any Opposition, and resisted their Licence, they were immediately requir'd to attend the Committee ; and if they could neither be persuaded nor threaten'd to submit, their Attendance was continued from day to day, to their great Charge and Vexation.'

Neal, p. 491. *But the fairest Account of this Matter may be gather'd from Mr. Pym's Report to the House at their first Meeting after the Recess.*

No question Mr. Pym's Account must be better than Lord Clarendon's ; because *Pym* was a *Fanatick*, and *Republican*.

And Dr. *Nalson* thinks, * ' That it had been happy for *England*, if they had never met again, to be the Authors of the most dismal Tragedy, that ever was acted upon the Theatre of *England* ; but Providence, whose Wisdom is unsearchable, had ordain'd them to be a Scourge to a People, wanton with long Plenty, and even Religion itself.'

Neal, p. 491. *Remarkable are the Words of Sir Edward Dering to this purpose ; ' The Orders of the House (says he) are doubtless powerful, if grounded upon the Laws of the Land ; upon this Warrant we may by an Order enforce any thing that is undoubtedly so grounded, and by the same Rule we may abrogate whatsoever is introduced contrary to the undoubted Foundation of your Laws : but we may not rule and govern by arbitrary and disputable Orders, especially in Matters of Religion.'* *Rushworth*, Vol. IV. p. 32.

* *Nalson*, Vol. II. p. 487.

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And Sir Edward has likewise these remarkable Words*. ' Was it ever heard or seen, that a Set of Laymen, Gentlemen, Soldiers, Lawyers, Merchants, all Professions admitted, but the Profession of Professions for this Work, Divines alone excluded? That we should determine upon Doctrinal Points of Divinity? Theology is not so low, so facile a Trade; let us maintain those that are established; to declare new, is not fit for our Assembly. And for my part, I think I have found daily Cause, to wish these Resolutions recommended unto other Resolvers.'

Neal, p. 492. *The Commons disallowed of the Tumultuous Attempts of private Persons, and punished them severely. Complaint being made by the Inhabitants of St. Saviour's, Southwark, of certain Persons who had pull'd down the Rails of the Communion-Table, in an insolent and riotous manner; they were sent for into Custody, and having been heard by their Council at the Bar of the House, the Churchwardens were order'd to set up new Rails, at the Cost and Charges of the Offenders.* Nalson, p. 271.

What Nalson says in the Place refer'd to, (Vol. II. p. 271.) ' A Petition was this day read in the House of Lords, declaring the great Disorders committed in the Parish Churches of St. Saviour's, and St. Olave's Southwark, in time of the Administration of the Communion; hereupon, it was order'd, That the Names of the particular Offenders be given in to the House, and then this House will give such Order therein, as stands with Justice, and the Desert of the Cause.'

The mistake of the *House of Commons*, for the *House of Lords*, is but a small one, with our *Historian*.

The Order mention'd after in Mr. Neal, for which he refers to Nalson, p. 291. was not an Or-

† Rushworth, Vol. IV. p. 393.

der of the Commons; *Nalson* calls it in the Margin, *The Lords Order about those who committed the Disorders in Saint Saviour's, and Saint Olave's, Southwark.*

Neal, p. 496. *The Bishop of Lincoln, in the Reefs of Parliament, visited his Diocese, and exhorted the People in his Sermons to keep to their lawful Minister, and not go after Tub-Preachers in Conventicles. Look back (says his Lordship) from the beginning of Queen Elizabeth; can the Gospel stand better against the Church of Rome, than it has done under Bishops, Liturgy and Canons? Therefore don't abandon the good old way, for another which you do not know how much Evil may be in it.*

And supposing all this to be true, (which might be questioned, because he quotes no Authority for it) were not these Directions perfectly right? *Sir Edward Dering* (a Favourite Author) in his Speech concerning the Declaration of the Kingdom, Nov. 20. 1641. says, That there were frequent Schismatical Conventicles, that Taylors, Shoemakers, Braziers, Feltmakers, did climb the publick Pulpits. Was not the Bishop then to be justified, for cautioning his People against such Places, and such *vile Seducers*? His Visitation-Articles, printed 1641, are very good ones, and there are two or three, which, had our Historian seen them, would certainly have prevented his censuring the Bishop upon this Occasion, and have deserv'd a Place in his History.

Concerning the Clergy, Art. 5. ‘Do you know of any Parson, Vicar or Curate, that hath introduced any offensive Rites or Ceremonies into the Church, not establish'd by the Laws of the Land? as namely, that make three Curtesies towards the Communion-Table, that call the said Table an Altar, that enjoin their People at coming into the Church, to bow towards the

East,

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East, or towards the Communion-Table; that call upon them to stand up at *Te-Deum*, *Benedictus*, *Magnificat*, *Gloria Patri*, or at other times than at the Creed and the Gospel; that refuse to give the Communion to any that will not come up, and receive at the Rails; that never pray before their Sermons, but bid their People pray; or use any other new or voluntary Rite or Ceremony not warranted by Law: you are to present them, by virtue of your Offices and Places.'

Concerning the Parishioners, the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th Articles, relate to the presenting *Popish Recusants*; the 13th, 18th, 19th, against the Prophanation of the Lord's-Day; 14th, for keeping holy the 5th of November. [*penes me.*]

Neal, p. 497. Lord Clarendon is of opinion, that the Parliament, instead of adjourning, should have broken up and return'd home; since the principal Grievances in Church and State were redressed, and the Constitution secur'd by the Act for Triennial Parliaments. Not one of the late Innovations were abolished by Law, nor was there any Alteration in the Liturgy or Form of Church-Government.

Mr. Neal shows his great skill in Antiquity, in calling the Form of Church-Government then established, an *Innovation*.

* ' If perhaps my *Calling* be my Crime, (says Bishop Hall) it is no other than the most holy Fathers of the Church in the primitive and succeeding Ages, ever since the *Apostles* (many of them also blessed Martyrs) have been guilty of; it is no other than all the holy Doctors of the Church, in all Generations ever since have celebrated, as most Reverend, Sacred and Inviolable; it is no other than all the whole *Christian*

* A Letter lately sent by a Reverend Bishop from the Tower, to a Private Friend, and by him thought fit to be published. London, publish'd in the Year 1642. *Penes me.*

' World,

' World, excepting one small handful of our
 ' Neighbours (whose Condition denied them the
 ' Opportunity of this Government) is known to
 ' enjoy without contradiction: How safe is it erring
 ' in such Company?'

*Neal, p. 498. The Act for Triennial Parliaments
 will not be a sufficient Security for the Constitution, if
 we consider, how many Acts of Parliament, the King
 and his Arbitrary Ministers had broke the last fif-
 teen Years.*

I should be very unwilling to suspect Mr. Neal's
 Attachment to *Republicanism*, could I tell how to
 reconcile his violent and outrageous (but ground-
 less) Charges upon King *Charles the First*, with *Mo-
 narchical Principles*. I know none, but professed *Re-
 publicans*, who have hitherto charged him with
 Breach of Promise. Even Bishop *Burnet*, whom
 he himself will not allow to have been too great a
 Favourer of the Royal House of *Stuart*, sufficiently
 disproves this Assertion of Mr. Neal's: * ' I will
 ' not (says he) enlarge upon the whole Field of that
 ' murder'd Prince's Vertues, for that were both
 ' endless, they being so many; and needless, they
 ' being so well known. But having by a great
 ' happiness seen not a few, (I may add Hundreds)
 ' of Papers under his own Royal Pen, I shall now
 ' offer divers Passages out of those, that will
 ' give some Characters of his great Soul.

† ' What our Martyr's Zeal was for the protect-
 ing his Subjects, I shall make appear from the
 following Evidences: How far he complied with
 their most unreasonable Desires to the great dimi-
 nution of his Royal Authority, is well enough
 known; when he saw them inclin'd to engage in
 the Civil Wars in this Kingdom, he left no means

* Dr. Burnet's Sermon at the Savoy, Jan. 30. 1674. enti-
 tled, *The Royal Martyr*, p. 6.

† Ib. p. 9.

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unessay'd to satisfy their Jealousies and Fears†. How careful he was to prevent a Rupture in the Nation, not only his great Concessions prove, but his constant Offers of Treaty, even when Things went prosperously with him, demonstrate.

* ' For his Fidelity in observing his Treaties, I have already mentioned some Passages, how religiously he resolv'd to observe them; and his refusing to serve his Interest by Promises, which, how useful soever they might have been to him, yet, since he could not with a good Conscience observe them, he would not make them; shews how sacred he accounted all his Promises.

‡ ' Our Royal Martyr depended upon God, and submitted to his Will, in all his Councils, both in Peace and War: and when it pleas'd God, for the Punishment of his People, to expose him to the Cruelty and Malice of his Enemies, even then he proved more than Conqueror: Nor would he express the least Meanness of Spirit when brought lowest. He would neither give up the Rights of the Church, nor Crown, nor People, nor Parliaments, to their insulting Pride; who trampling upon all Laws, Sacred and Human, had made themselves the sacrilegious Masters of his Person and Power.'

See more to the same purpose, in his four Conferences, printed at *Glasgow*, p. 241.

Nay, there is a remarkable Instance to our purpose; for the very Night before he was seized by the Army, and removed from *Newport* to *Hurst-Castle*, (of which Design he was fully apprized, as well as the Duke of *Richmond*, Earl of *Lindsey*, and Colonel

† *Ib.* p. 11.

* *Ib.* p. 19.

‡ *Ib.* p. 21.

*Cooke, who were then with him,)** ‘The Question
 ‘ was in this desperate Case, What was most advise-
 ‘ able to be done? The Lords argued for the
 ‘ King’s attempting an immediate Escape, for he
 ‘ would better bring about a personal Treaty with
 ‘ the Parliament (which he so much coveted) when
 ‘ out of the reach of the Army, than when in their
 ‘ power; and this would certainly secure the Safety
 ‘ of his Person, which else might be very probably
 ‘ much in danger. But before they could proceed
 ‘ to debate the Manner of this Escape, the King
 ‘ prevented it, thus arguing against the Escape it-
 ‘ self; first, arguing the Difficulty, if not Impossi-
 ‘ bility of accomplishing it; next, the Conse-
 ‘ quences, that in case he should miscarry in the
 ‘ Attempt, it would exasperate the Army, and
 ‘ dishearten his Friends; and lastly, that if the
 ‘ Army should seize him, they must preserve him
 ‘ for their own sakes: for that no Party could se-
 ‘ cure their own Interest, without joining his with it,
 ‘ his Son being now out of their reach. The Earl of
 ‘ *Lindsey* replied, *Take heed, Sir; lest you fall into*
 ‘ *such hands as will not steer by such Rules of Policy;*
 ‘ *remember Hampton-Court, where your Escape was*
 ‘ *your best Security.* The Duke of *Richmond* adding,
 ‘ that he thought it feasible enough; and turning
 ‘ about to Colonel *Cooke*, ask’d how he pass’d to
 ‘ and fro? who answer’d, *he had the Word.*
 ‘ The Duke ask’d, whether he believed he could pass
 ‘ him too? who answer’d, he made no question
 ‘ but he could; at which the Duke took a longer
 ‘ Cloak without a Star, and made the Colonel go
 ‘ along with him through the Guards, and so re-

* Certain Passages which happen’d at *Newport*, in the Isle of
Wight, November 29, 1648. relating to King *Charles* the First,
 written by *Edward Cooke* of *Highnam* in *Gloucestershire*, some-
 time a Colonel of a Regiment under *Oliver Cromwell*. London,
 printed for *Richard Chiswell*, 1690. p. 13, &c. *Pencs me.*

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turn'd again to the King, acquainting him with what he had done, and with what ease; and thence took the advantage again to persuade the King's attempting to escape; who on a sudden, turning himself from the two Lords that were discoursing with him at the Window, to Colonel Cooke, who stood drying himself by the Fire, said, *Ned Cooke, What do you advise me in this Case?* who humbly answered, he suspected his own Judgment too much, to presume to offer any Advice, considering both the Greatness of the Danger, and the Person concerned in it: That his Majesty had his Privy-Council with him, to whom he humbly besought him to listen, observing what they pressed him to. At which the Lords resumed their former Discourse of attempting an Escape: but the King turning about again, said, *Ned, I command you to give me your Advice.* At which the Colonel beg'd leave, after he had premised some Particulars, he might ask his Majesty a Question; who permitting him, *Suppose* (said he) *I should not only tell your Majesty, that the Army would very suddenly seize upon you, but by concurring Circumstances fully convince your Majesty it would be so: also that I have the Word, Horses ready at hand, a Vessel attending at the Come, and hourly expecting me: That I am ready and desirous to attend you, and this dismal dark Night, as it were suited to the Purpose; so that I can foresee no visible Difficulty in the Thing, which I suppose to be in all Particulars the true state of this present Case. the only Question now is, What will your Majesty resolve to do?* Who, after a small Pause, pronounced this positive Answer; *They have promised me, and I have promised them, I will not break first.*

‘ The Duke of Richmond urging the Colonel to speak, he craved leave to speak, to argue the Point with the King; who said, with all his heart

Heart. *I presume, Sir, (said the Colonel) your Majesty intends by those Words, [they, and then the Parliament; if so, the Scene now is quite altered or changed, your present Apprehension arising from the Army, who have so far already violated the Privileges of the Parliament, as to invade your Majesty's Freedom and Safety, by changing the single Centinel of State at the outward Door, into strong Guards at your very Bed-Chamber; which is in itself no better than a Confinement, and the probable Forerunner of something more, a speedy and absolute Imprisonment.*

The King replied, however, he would not do any thing that should look like a breaking of his Word, and so bad him and the Earl of Lindsey Good-night, and that he would go and take his Rest too, so long as he could. To which Colonel Cooke replied, *I fear it will not be long; the King answered, As please God. The King perceiving a great Uneasiness and Disorder in the Colonel said, Ned, what troubles you? tell me. Who replied; Sir, to consider the Greatness of your Majesty's Danger, and your Unwillingness to avoid it. The King replied, Ne'er let that trouble you; were it greater, I would not break my Word to prevent it, &c.*

* In the Morning, just at Break of Day, the King hearing a great knocking at his Dressing Room Door, sent the Duke of Richmond to know what it meant; who enquiring who was there was answered, one Mildmay? (one of those Serjeants whom the Parliament had put to the King's and Brother to Sir Henry.) The Duke demanding what he would have? he answered, there were some Gentlemen from the Army, very desirous to speak with the King; which Account the

* Ib. p. 21.

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Duke gave the King. But the knocking increasing, the King commanded the Duke to let them into his Dressing-Room. No sooner was this done, but before the King got out of his Bed, those Officers rush'd into his Chamber, and abruptly told the King, they had Orders to remove him. *From whom*, said the King? they replied, from the *Army*. The King ask'd, whither he was to be removed? they answered, to the *Castle*. The King ask'd, what *Castle*? again, they answered, *to the Castle*. *The Castle* (said the King) *is no Castle*; he told them he was well enough prepared for any *Castle*, and required them to name the *Castle*. After a short whispering together, they said, *Hurst-Castle*. The King replied, they could not name a worse; and called to the Duke of *Richmond* to send for the Earl of *Lindsey* and Colonel *Cooke*. At first, they scrupled at the Earl of *Lindsey's* coming; but the King said, why not both, since both lie together? They promised to send for both, but sent for neither: And the Duke of *Richmond* had ordered the King's Breakfast to be hastened, presuming there was little Provision in the desolate Castle; yet, when he was scarce ready, the Horses being come, they hurried him away, only permitting the Duke to attend him about two Miles, and then told him he must go no further; where he sadly took leave, being scarce permitted to kiss the King's Hand; whose last Words were, *Remember me to Lord Lindsey, and Colonel Cooke, and command Colonel Cooke from me, never to forget the Passages of this Night*.

The Duke returned directly to the Earl of *Lindsey's* Lodgings, (on which, it appear'd, a Guard had been set all Night, to keep him from the Knowledge of what was doing, or at least to confine him from stirring forth, had he known of it)

' it) and surprized both the Earl of *Lindsey*, and
 ' Colonel *Cooke* with the Account of the King's
 ' being carried away, with all its remarkable Cir-
 ' cumstances; delivering the King's gracious Re-
 ' membrance to them both, and his concluding
 ' Command to Colonel *Cooke*. Wherefore, while
 ' all Passages were ripe in their Memories, Colonel
 ' *Cooke*, with the assistance of the Duke of *Rich-*
 ' *mond*, and Earl of *Lindsey*, drew up this Narra-
 ' tive in obedience to the King's Command.

' After this, the Duke of *Richmond*, Earl of
 ' *Lindsey*, and Earl of *Southampton*, with his
 ' Countess, immediately left the Island, and em-
 ' barqued in a Vessel that belong'd to Colonel *Cooke*
 ' and landed near *Titchfield*, (the Earl of *Southamp-*
 ' *ton's* House) where, just at their landing they
 ' were all seiz'd on by a Party of Colonel *Okey's*
 ' Regiment; who, by the persuasion of Colonel
 ' *Cooke*, and his Engagement for their forth-
 ' coming, were all permitted to go to the Earl of
 ' *Southampton's* House the next Morning.'

The Editor, in his Preface to the Reader, informs
 us, ' That among other Relations, this of Colonel
 ' *Cooke's* coming lately to his hands, he did believe
 ' it fit to be made publick; because the Account
 ' given in it is more particular than any yet extant,
 ' and given by a *Convert* of Integrity, who bore a
 ' great part in the Affair; and also, because it shews
 ' how tender a Regard that good King had to his
 ' Word, chusing rather to fall into the hands of
 ' *Cruel Men*, than to give occasion to the mere Ap-
 ' pearance of the Breach of it. If all Princes (says
 ' he) were of that Disposition, their Faith would
 ' more effectually secure them one against another,
 ' than their Arms.'

After this, I am apt to believe, that such Charges
 as these, without much better Proof, will not be
 admitted, even from the *Conscientious Mr. Neal*,
 who,

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who, I fear, will *strain out a Gnat, and swallow a Camel*. What he says of the King, and his arbitrary Ministers, is very applicable to his *beloved Scots, and darling House of Commons*; if we may believe *Sir Edward Walker*, who in his *Historical Collections*, in answer to *William Lilly*, (p. 244.) puts this Query; ‘Did either one, or both Nations ever make good to his Majesty one Particle of all their Oaths, Submissions, Agreements, Vows, Protestations or Engagements; but broke through them all as no longer just, nor to be observed, but as they fitted their Turns, or served their Occasion?’

And in another place, he has the following Words: * ‘It may be confidently said, that there has been, within this four Years, more Money extorted by these arbitrary and tyrannical Ways, to begin, and continue this Rebellion, than ever the Houses of Commons have granted by Subsidies or other Means to his Majesty, or any of his Royal Predecessors, since that Body was thought worthy to be admitted as a third Estate; and more unjust and illegal Actions have been done by this Faction, to maintain and uphold their usurped Power, than have been practised, either wilfully, or by the Advice of evil Counsellors, by all the Kings of this Land, since the *Norman Conquest*.’

Neal, p. 499. *Mr. Fuller says* [of *Dr. Richard Montague*] *That he was a celebrated Grecian, and Church-Antiquary, well versed in the Fathers, but a superstitious Admirer of Church-Ceremonies.*

Fuller's Words †: ‘But all his Diocese being not so well skill'd in Antiquity as himself, some charged him with superstitious urging of Ceremonies.’

* *Sir Edward Walker's Historical Collections*, p. 6.

† *Fuller's Church-History*, Book XI. p. 194.

Neal, p. 501. *Before his Majesty left Scotland, Advice came to London, Novemb. 1. of a general Insurrection of the Papists in Ireland, and of a most cruel and bloody Massacre of the Protestants in that Kingdom; the Project of an Insurrection was form'd in the Months of March and April 1641, not without the Privy of the English Court.*

This Gentleman, like some of his late Brethren, [viz. Mr. Peirce, Dr. Calamy, and Mr. Ben. Bennet,] would be glad (if he could) to fix the *Irish Massacre* upon the King. P. 503. he tells us, *That Letters were wrote in the Queen's Name, and perhaps in the King's, authorizing them to take up Arms, and seize the Government.* And p. 504. *Though the King gave out no Commission, there is reason to believe, that the Queen and her Popish Council, and even the King himself was not unacquainted with the Design of the Insurrection, before it took place.*

This horrid Aspersions has been so often confuted, that if I was capable of being surpriz'd at any thing Mr. Neal could say, after reading over his History of the *Puritans*, I should much wonder that an *Historian* making such great Pretences to Impartiality and Fair Dealing, could again bring such an exploded Forgery upon the Stage.

' The King immediately upon the News of it,
' wrote to the two Houses*, that he was satisfied,
' it was no rash Insurrection, but a form'd Re-
' bellion, which must be prosecuted by a sharp
' War; the conducting and prosecuting whereof,
' he wholly committed to their Care and Wisdom,
' and depended upon them for carrying it on; and
' that for the present, he had caused a strong Regi-
' ment of 1500 Foot, under good Officers, to be
' transported out of Scotland into Ulster, for the
' Relief of those Parts.'

* Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 238.

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Dr. *Nelson* informs us*, ' That the King recommended that Affair to the Parliament, and what Course was fittest to be taken for the reducing of that Kingdom.' In the Life of King *Charles*, p. 51. (printed before *Reliquiæ Sacræ Carolinæ*) 'tis said, ' That neither the King's Importunity here, nor the Necessity of the *Protestants* there, could persuade them to levy one Man, towards the Suppression of the Rebels, till the King had disclaim'd his Power of pressing Soldiers by an Act of Parliament; and thereby laid himself open to such Violence, as was then hammering against him.' Nay, when a Resolve was made, that Four Hundred Thousand Pounds should be raised for the Suppression of this Rebellion in *Ireland*†; they assumed to themselves an Authority to direct and dispose of One Hundred Thousand Pounds, in carrying on the Rebellion against him in *England*.

|| Of this his Majesty complain'd, ' and strictly required the House of Commons, as they would answer the contrary to Almighty God, his Majesty, and those that had trusted them, that they immediately retract that mischievous, illegal, and unjust Order, wherein his Majesty expecteth their speedy Answer and Obedience; and the rather, that he may thereby be secure, that such part of the Four Hundred Thousand Pounds, as is, or shall be collected from his good Subjects of *England*, by virtue of the same Act of Parliament, whereby the same is granted, may not likewise by false Pretences be diverted from its proper Use, for which it was intended, and misemploy'd,

* Vol. II. p. 600.

† *Orleans's History of the Revolutions in England*, p. 74.

|| His Majesty's Message to the House of Commons from *York*, August 16, 1642. *Husbands's Collections*, p. 565. *May's Hist.* of the Parliament, p. 122.

‘ to the Disturbance of the Peace of this Kingdom, in a War against his sacred Majesty.’

* The King, in his Reply to the Answer of the two Houses, conjures them to consider the bleeding Condition of *Ireland*. † And Lord *Digby*, in his Letter to the *Irish* Commissioners, printed with his Majesty's last gracious Message for Peace, &c. (for *Matthew Wellbank*, Feb. 10. 1645. p. 8.) has the following Words: ‘ My Lords and Gentlemen, to disabuse you, I am commanded by his Majesty to declare unto you, that were the Condition of his Affairs much more desperate than they are, he would never redeem them, by any Concessions of so much wrong, both to his Honour, and his Conscience. It is for the Defence of his Religion principally, that he hath undergone the Extremity of War here, and he would never redeem his Crown by ratifying that there; so that to deal clearly with you, as you may be happy yourselves, and happy Instruments of his Majesty's restoring, if you would be content with Reason, and give him that speedy Assurance, which you well may; so if nothing will content, but what must wound his Honour and Conscience, you must expect, howsoever his Condition is, and how detestable soever — of this Kingdom are to him, he will join with *them*, the *Scots*, or with any of the *Protestant* Religion, rather than do the least Act that may hazard that Religion, in which, and for which, he will live and die. Having said thus incontestably much, by his Majesty's Command, I have no more to add, but I shall think myself very happy, if they take any such Effect, as may tend to the Peace of the Kingdom, and make me your Affectionate Humble Servant,

Geo. Digby.

* *Husbands's Exact Collections*, p. 584, 586.

† *Penes me.*

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* Dr. *Nalson* mentions a Letter to be seen in the Paper-Office, from the Lord *Digby*, by the King's Order, to the *Irish Catholics*, intercepted by the Parliament-Army, much to the same purpose; and observes, that this Letter had been before the Committee, which perus'd what might most expose the King by being printed, and was indorsed with a Hand like *Rushworth's*, *needless to be printed*. 'Tis a wonder they did not commit it to the Flames, since 'tis an *Irrefragable* Testimony of the most unbiass'd Sincerity of that Religious Monarch, which, I should think, was sufficient to stifle the last Efforts of *Republican* Malice upon this head.

Upon the Rebellion and Troubles in *Ireland*, (says *Rushworth*) his Majesty thus expresses himself: † 'The Commotions in *Ireland* were so sudden and so violent, that it was hard at first, either to discern the Rise, or apply a Remedy to that precipitant Rebellion.

' Indeed that Sea of Blood, that hath been cruelly and barbarously shed, is enough to drown any Man in eternal both Infamy and Misery, whom God shall find the malicious Author or Instigator of it's effusion. It fell out as a most unhappy Advantage to some Men's Malice against me, that when they had Impudence enough to lay any thing to my charge, that bloody Opportunity should be offer'd, with which I must be aspers'd; altho' there was nothing that could be more abhorr'd by me, being so full of Sin against God, Disloyalty to myself, and Destruction to my Subjects.

' Some Men took it very ill not to be believ'd, when they affirm'd, that what the *Irish Rebels* did, was done by my Privy at least, if not by my Commission; but these knew too well, it is

* Introduction to *Nalson's* Collections, p. 56.

† *Rushworth*, Vol. IV. p. 403.

‘ no News for some of my Subjects to fight, not
 ‘ only without my Commission, but against my
 ‘ Command and Person too ; yet all the while to
 ‘ pretend they fight by my Authority, and for my
 ‘ Safety.’

There is a Letter from * Lord *Howard* at *Edin-
 burgh*, directed to the Lord-Keeper, dated *Nov. 2.*
1641 ; shewing the King's great Diligence to sup-
 press the *Irish* Rebellion.

And another remarkable one, from Sir *Henry
 Vane* to the *Lords Justices*, concerning some Infor-
 mations of Danger in *Ireland* †.

Right Honourable,

‘ His Majesty hath commanded me to acquaint
 ‘ your Lordships, with an Advice given him from
 ‘ abroad, and confirm'd by his Ministers in *Spain*,
 ‘ and elsewhere ; which, in this distemper'd Time
 ‘ and Conjuncture of Affairs, deserves to be seri-
 ‘ ously consider'd, and an especial care and watch-
 ‘ fulness to be had therein : which is, That of late,
 ‘ there have passed from *Spain* (and the like may
 ‘ well have been from other Parts) an unspeakable
 ‘ Number of *Irish* Churchmen for *England* and
 ‘ *Ireland*, and some good old Soldiers, under pre-
 ‘ text of asking leave to raise Men for the King of
 ‘ *Spain* ; whereas it is observ'd among the *Irish*
 ‘ *Friars* there, a Whisper runs as if they expected
 ‘ a Rebellion in *Ireland*, and particularly in *Con-
 naght*. Wherefore his Majesty thought fit to
 ‘ give your Lordships this Notice, that in your
 ‘ Wisdoms, you might manage the same with that
 ‘ Dexterity and Secrecy, as to discover and prevent
 ‘ so pernicious a Design, if any such there should be,
 ‘ and to have a watchful Eye on the Proceedings
 ‘ and Actions of those who come thither from a-

* *Nalson's Collections*, Vol. II. p. 612.

† *Nalson's Collections*, Vol. II. p. 565.

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‘ broad, on what pretext soever; And so here-
‘ with I rest,

Your Lordship's most

Humble Servant,

Henry Vane.

*Whitehall,
March, 16.
1640.*

‘ The Preservation of this Letter (says *Nalson*)
‘ appears very uncommon, and looks as if Provi-
‘ dence, interested in the Vindication of oppressed
‘ Innocence, had preserv'd it, to clear the Illustri-
‘ ous Memory of the Royal Martyr, from the
‘ barbarous Calumny, which the wickedest of Man-
‘ kind endeavour'd to fix upon him, as being con-
‘ scious of, and favouring this execrable Rebellion
‘ in *Ireland*. Whereas, this makes it evident be-
‘ yond the possibility of Contradiction, that his
‘ Majesty took all the Care imaginable, to sup-
‘ press the very first Beginnings and Motions to-
‘ wards an Insurrection.* Variety of Authorities
‘ might be produc'd to the same purpose: which are
‘ refer'd to in the * Margin.

Neal, p. 504. *They call'd themselves the Queen's
Army, and publish'd a Proclamation, declaring, that
they acted by the King's Commission under the Great
Seal of Scotland, dated at Edinburgh, October 1.
and by Letters under his Sign Manual of the same
Date with the Commission; which I believe, with
Lord Clarendon, was a Forgery; though it is a little
unaccountable, that his Majesty should never by any
Publick Act, or Declaration of his own, clear himself
of such a vile Calumny.*

Mr. Baxter owns, † ‘ That the soberer Part
‘ would not believe, that the *Irish* Rebels had the

* *Bishop Hacker's Life of Bishop Williams*, Part II. p. 9.
Rushworth, p. 402. *Dr. Hollingworth's Defence of the Royal
Martyr, against Ludlow*, p. 36, 83. *Mr. Long's Review of
Baxter's Life*, p. 190, to 211. *King Charles's Works*, p. 535,
536. *Echard's History of England*, Vol. II. p. 263, 508.

† *Baxter's Life*, p. 29.

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'King's Commission.' And his Majesty, 'tis plain from what has been already observ'd, has fully prov'd, that he had not the least knowledge of the Rebellion or Massacre. And if this will not satisfy Mr. Neal as to the Broad Seal, that Point is fully clear'd from. * Dr. Maxwell's Authority.

Neal, p. 505. *If we distinguish between the Insurrection in order to assume the Government into the Hands of the Irish Papists, and the Massacre which attended it; we may conclude, without any breach of Charity, that the English Court admitted of the former, though they might wash their Hands of the latter.*

A very charitable Man! But this is fully answer'd before, in Lord Digby's Letter to the *Irish Catholics*.

Neal, Ibid. *The Parliament in their Declaration of March 9. say, That the Rebellion in Ireland was framed and contriv'd in England, and that they had taken several Depositions, proving that the English Papists were to rise about the same time.*

The King's Answer is as follows: ‡ 'If the Rebellion of Ireland (so odious to all *Christians*) seems to have been framed and maintained in *England*, or to have any Countenance from hence, we conjure both our Houses of Parliament, and all our loving Subjects whatsoever, to use all possible means to discover, and find such out, that we may join in the most exemplary Vengeance upon them, that can be imagin'd: But we must think ourself highly and causelessly injured in our Reputation, if any Declaration, Action or Expression of the *Irish* Rebels, any Letter from Count Rosettie to the *Papists*, for fasting and praying, or from *Tristram Whitcomb*, of strange

* Rushworth, p. 402. Echard, Vol. II. p. 263. *Husbands's Exact Collections*, p. 106.

‡ *Husbands's Exact Collections*, p. 106.

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‘ Speeches utter’d in *Ireland* ; shall beget any Jealousy or Misapprehension in our Subjects, of our Justice, Piety and Affection : It being evident to all Understandings, that those mischievous and wicked Rebels are not so capable of great Advantage, as by having their false Discourses so far believ’d, as to raise Fears and Jealousies, to the distraction of the Kingdom, the only way to their Security. And we cannot express a deeper Sense of the suffering of our poor Protestant Subjects in that Kingdom, than we have done in our often Messages to both Houses ; by which we have offer’d, and are still ready to venture our Royal Person for their Redemption ; well-knowing, that as we are (in our own Interest) more concern’d in them, so we are to make a strict Account to Almighty God, for any Neglect of our Duty for their Preservation.’

The Commons in their Instructions, sent to the Commissioners of both Houses in *Scotland*, Nov. 10. (in which they desir’d the Lords to concur with them) give the following Instruction * : ‘ You shall further make known to his Majesty, that in the great and almost universal Revolt of the Natives of *Ireland*, cherish’d and fomented (as we have cause to doubt) by the secret Practices and Encouragement of some *Foreign State*, ill-affected to the Crown ; and that the *Northern Parts* of that Kingdom, may with much more Ease and Speed be supplied from *Scotland*, than from *England* ; we desire his Majesty to make use of the Assistance of his Parliament and Subjects of *Scotland*, for the present Relief of those Parts of *Ireland*, which lie nearest to them, according to the Treaty agreed upon, and confirm’d in both Parliaments.’

* *Nelson*, Vol. II. p. 616.

Neal, p. 506. *There was a farther Discovery of this Fact at the Restoration of King Charles II. when the Marquis of Antrim, who had been at the Head of the Rebellion, and whose Estate had been confiscated, finding himself like to be excluded by the Act of Indemnity, came to London to petition his Majesty, to examine the Warrants he had acted upon. Accordingly a Committee of Council was appointed, and the Marquis produc'd some Letters from the King, which did not amount to full Proof; but in one of them the King writ, that he was not then at leisure, but referr'd himself to the Queen's Letter, and said, that it was all one as if he writ himself.*

This Gentleman would have shown himself somewhat less partial, had he distinguish'd Times and Facts better. It does not appear, that the Marquis of *Antrim* had the least concern in the *Massacre* or first *Insurrection*; nay, the direct contrary has been prov'd from incontestable Authorities, by the Reverend * *Mr. Tho. Cart*, in a Piece which probably *Mr. Neal* may not have seen, and by consulting of which, he may find every Objection he has made upon this Subject, fully disprov'd. That the Marquis of *Antrim* had a Commission from the King to join *Montross* in *Scotland*, in the latter End of the Year 1643, or beginning of the Year 1644, to give the *Scotch* Army a diversion from joining their Fellow-Rebels in *England*, is readily granted: And this is all that the King's Letter produc'd by the † Marquis proves.

Neal, p. 507. *The King himself writ over to the Duke of Ormond, that he had so vindicated himself, that he must get him included in the Act of Indemnity.*

* The *Irish* Massacre set in a true Light, in Answer to *Mr. Chandler*, a Dissenting Teacher at the *Bark*. By *Tho. Carr*. Printed 1715. Penes me.

† *Clarendon's History*, Vol. II. p. 466. *Nelson's Collections*, Vol. I. p. 22.

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But the Lord Mazarine and others, not being satisfied to give their Vote in favour of such a Criminal, notwithstanding the Instructions they had from England; the Marquis was oblig'd in his own Defence to produce in the House of Commons, a Letter from King Charles I. writ with his own Hand, giving him express Orders to take up Arms. Bennet's Memorial, p. 197.

And what is all this to the *Irish* Massacre? The Letter ('tis plain) related to his joining *Montrose* in *Scotland*; the Words of King *Charles* II's Letter, which he quotes from *Ludlow*, in the very same Page, prove as much. 'The *Referrees* (he tells them) who had examin'd the Marquis of *Antrim*'s Case, had declar'd to him, that they had seen several Letters, all of them of the Hand of his Royal Father to the said Marquis; and several Instructions concerning his treating with the *Irish*, in order to the King's Service, by reducing them to their Obedience, and by drawing some Forces from them for the Service of *Scotland*.' The Account of the *Irish* Massacre, by his Author Mr. Bennet, is the most spiteful and malicious one I have met with; and receiv'd an Answer, in a Piece, entitled, *Presbyterian Prejudice display'd*, p. 52. &c. printed in the Year 1722.

There is an Act of Parliament mention'd by Mr. Cart (p. 34.) to our purpose. 'And that these were the very Instructions, and no other (says he) appears undeniable (to the full Satisfaction of all, that reverence the Royal Martyr's Memory, and the Confusion of those, who load it with such heavy Calumnies) from King *Charles* II's own Words, deliver'd on this very Subject of the Letter, in the most authentick manner [*Anno* 17, 18 *Car.* II.] in the second Act about the *Irish* Forfeited Estates, and which I think is the same, with that call'd the *Act of Explanation*, pass'd Dec. 15. 1665. in which he declares, "That the Testi-

"mony

“mony of the Marquiss of *Antrim*'s Innocence,
 “which he had given in the Letter of *July 6.*
 “1663. and which at the end of that Letter, the
 “Duke of *Ormond* and Council are requir'd to
 “transmit to the Commissioners for executing the
 “Act of Settlement, for them to regulate their
 “Proceedings by, was only to declare that the
 “Marquiss of *Antrim* was employ'd in *Ireland*, to
 “procure what Forces he could from thence, to be
 “transported into *Scotland*, for his late Majesty's
 “Service, under the late Marquiss of *Montrose*;
 “to the end that the Conversation of the said Mar-
 “quiss of *Antrim* in the Rebels Quarters, which
 “was necessary for the Service, might not, accord-
 “ing to the Letter of the former Act, render him
 “Criminal.” ‘These are the Words of that Act
 “of Parliament; and is it possible for any thing
 “more clearly to shew, what the King's Instruc-
 “tions, and what the Marquiss of *Antrim*'s Corre-
 “spondence and acting pursuant thereto, were? Do
 “they not appear to be perfectly innocent.’

P. 36. ‘That the Lord *Mazarine* should peti-
 “tion against the Marquiss is no wonder, he had
 “part of his Estate, and was desirous to keep it.
 “And tho' he and Sir *John Clotworthy* (whose
 “Daughter and Heiress he had married) had been
 “engag'd with the Faction in those Times, and
 “he then actually enjoy'd the Plunder of one of
 “the King's Palaces; yet considering the usual
 “Modesty of the Party, which was so egregious,
 “as hardly ever to suffer them to beg pardon of the
 “King for their Rebellion, or shew a Sense of
 “Shame for what they acted against him; we
 “have no reason to be surpriz'd at that Lord's pe-
 “titioning, that he might be still allow'd to retain
 “what of the Marquiss of *Antrim*'s Estate, he was
 “possessed of.’

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* The Judges who tried Sir *Phelim O-Neal* (one of the principal Persons concern'd in the *Irish* Massacre and Rebellion) offer'd him his Life, provided he would own a Commission from the King, to authorize what he had done. *O-Neal* generously acquitted the King, and was not willing to accept his Life upon those Terms, declaring that his Majesty was not so much as privy to their Insurrection; as was attested by Dr. *Kerr*, Dean of *Ardagh*, who was present at the Trial. And Lord † *Macguire*, who had been tamper'd with, to accuse the King, as an Abettor of this horrid Rebellion, generously disown'd it at the Place of Execution. || 'He was cast off the Ladder (says Dr. *Hollingworth*) and having tried, what hanging in part was, and being repriev'd, and having hopes of Pardon given him, he still persisted in protesting the King's Innocence.'

Nay, Bishop *Burnet*, whom our Author likewise quotes upon this Occasion, informs us, † 'That the Earl of *Essex* told him, he had taken all the pains he could to enquire into the Original of the *Irish* Massacre, but could never see any Reason to believe the King had any accession to it. He did believe the Queen hearken'd to the Propositions made by the *Irish*, who undertook to take the Government into their hands, which they thought they could easily perform: and then they said they would assist the King to subdue the hot Spirits at *Westminster*.' For what Reason this was omitted by Mr. *Neal*, who gives us part of the same Paragraph, he best knows.

* *Nelson*, Vol. II. p. 528. Sir *Roger Manley*, p. 91.

† *Echard's History of England*, Vol. II. p. 508. *Dugdale's Short View of the Troubles*, p. 942. *Batesii Elench. Mor. in Anglia*, p. 41. Sir *Roger Manley*, p. 81.

|| Dr. *Hollingworth's* Defence of the Royal Martyr against *Ludlow*, p. 36.

‡ Bishop *Burnet's* History of his own Times, p. 41.

Neal,

Neal, p. 508. I have been more particular in accounting for this Insurrection, because whoever were the Authors of it, were, in the Judgment of Lord Clarendon, answerable for all the Calamities of the Civil War. At whose door then the Guilt of all this Blood must be laid, I freely leave with the Reader.

And so may any one else, without the least Prejudice to the Memory of the Royal Martyr; but to the eternal Infamy of Mr. Neal's Friends of that Rebel House of Commons. I beg leave to make use of Mr. *Carl's* Words upon this occasion: 'What pretence to Reason (says he) can Mr. *Baxter* make to suggest, that the Rebels did not belye the King, when they said they had his Warrant or Commission? Were not all the Interest of the *Irish*, and all the Malice and Power of the *English* Rebels, too weak to show that any Commission was given them? Did not Sir *Phelim O-Neal*, the Head of that Rebellion, under the greatest Trials, and with his dying Words, clear him from this Charge? Did not the Rebels in general own, that their Pretence to it was a Lye? Did they not in a Body wave all Pretensions to a Commission, and acknowledge the King's Abhorrence of their Rebellion? Does not the Marquis of *Antrim* also expressly clear him; and declare that he knew not of any Commission ever given to the *Irish*? Was ever Innocence better prov'd? Can any thing be added to set it in a better Light, or to expose more shamefully the Malice of those who revive the Calumny?'

Neal, p. 509. His Majesty had recommended the suppressing of the Irish Rebellion to the Scots Representatives, and by Letter had committed the Care of it also to the English Parliament; whereupon the House of Commons, in the King's absence, authorized the Earl of Leicesther by an Ordinance of their own to raise Forces.

But

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* But the Earl of *Leicester* did not think himself sufficiently warranted by an *Ordinance* of the House of Commons, and scrupled the raising of Men without the King's Commission.

Neal, Ibid. *When the King came to Whitehall, he seem'd so unwilling to act against the Papists, that the Parliament were afraid of sending Protestant Soldiers out of the Kingdom, lest his Majesty should take advantage of their Absence, and break up the Constitution.*

Whence does this appear? As he quotes no Authority, I am unwilling to take his Word for it. They had little reason to fear this from a Prince, who had been already too liberal in his Concessions to that very House of Commons; by putting it out of his power to dissolve them.

Neal, Ibid. *He had already commanded away the Parliament-Guard, telling them they had nothing to fear from the Papists, and that their Jealousies of Plots and Massacres was imaginary.*

† 'The Lord-Keeper declar'd, that he had receiv'd a Command from the King, that the Houses should be made acquainted, that his Majesty hearing, that the Parliament have appointed Guards for the securing the Houses, he presumes they did it upon some Reasons; but his Majesty not knowing any Reasons, it is his Majesty's Pleasure the said Guards be dissolv'd: for his Majesty hopes, that his Presence will be a Protection to the Parliament. But if there be Occasion, and his Majesty sees Reasons for it, he will be very forward to take care there be sufficient Guards to secure the Parliament.'

Neal, p. 510. *He pardon'd seven Popish Priests that were under Sentence of Condemnation, contrary to the Petition of the House of Commons.*

* *Nelson*, p. 614.

† *Nelson*, Vol. II. p. 684.

* ' The Lord-Keeper acquainted the House, that
 ' his Majesty had commanded him, to let both
 ' Houses know, that the *French* Ambassador had
 ' presented a Desire to his Majesty, that *eight*
 ' *Priests* condemn'd this Week, may not be put
 ' to execution, but be banish'd, and imprisoned
 ' at this time; the rather, for that it may concern
 ' the settling the Affairs in *Ireland*, which his Ma-
 ' jesty promised should be communicated to the
 ' Houses of Parliament, for their Advice there-
 ' in.'

And Dr. *Nelson* in another place (p. 732.) in-
 forms us, ' That after this, they were voted by the
 ' Commons to be executed:' And how far *they* en-
 croach'd upon his Majesty's *Royal Prerogative* in
 that particular, I leave it, even to Mr. *Neal*, to
 judge.

Neal, Ibid. Nor could his Majesty be prevail'd
 with, to issue out a Proclamation declaring the Irish,
 Rebels; till the beginning of January; and even then
 but forty Copies were printed, and not one to be dis-
 pers'd, till further Order.

Who, I desire to know, endeavour'd to prevail
 with him? This is an old and *stale* Objection, which
 as often as it has been offered, so often has it been ful-
 ly baffled and confuted; of which our *Ingenuous* Hi-
 storian thought it not proper take notice, for fear
 of taking off the Poignancy of his *Satyr* against
 poor King *Charles*, who never can be forgiven by
 any Bigot to *Presbytery* or *Independency*, because
 of his steady Adherence to the Church establish'd.
 The King has fully answer'd all this, in his Reply
 to the Remonstrance of the Lords and Commons,
 the 19th of May 1642.

† ' And now (says he) to countenance those
 ' unhandsome Expressions, whereby usually they

* *Nelson*, p. 719.

† *Husbands's Exact Collections*, p. 247.

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have implied our Connivance at, or want of Zeal against the Rebellion of *Ireland*, (so odious to all good Men) they have found a new way of Exprobation; that the Proclamation against these bloody Traytors came not out till the beginning of *January*, though that Rebellion broke out in *October*; and then by special Command from us, but forty Copies were appointed to be printed. 'Tis well known where we were at that time, when the Rebellion brake forth, in *Scotland*: that we immediately from thence recommended the Care of the Business to the Houses of Parliament here, after we had provided for all fitting Supplies for our Kingdom of *Scotland*: that after our return thither, we observ'd all those Forms for that Service, which we were advis'd to by our Council of *Ireland*, or both Houses of Parliament here: And if no Proclamation issu'd out sooner, (of which for the present we are not certain, but think that others before that time were issued out by our Directions) it was because the Lords Justices of the Kingdom desir'd them no sooner; and when they did, the Number they desir'd was but twenty, which they advis'd might be sign'd by us; which we for Expedition of the Service commanded to be printed, (a Circumstance not requir'd by them) thereupon we sign'd more of them than our Justices desir'd. All which was very well known to some Members of one, or both Houses of Parliament, who have the more to answer, if they forbore to express it at the passing of this *Declaration*; and if they did express it, we have the greater Reason to complain, that so envious an Aspersion should be cast on us to our People, when they knew well, how to answer their own Objection." [See *Rushworth*, Vol. IV. p. 708.]

Neal, Ibid. Indeed the King proclaim'd a Monthly Fast, and offer'd to raise an Army of English, for the relief of Ireland; which the Commons declin'd, but instead thereof, appointed a Committee, to treat for Ten Thousand Scots, which the House of Lords by direction of the King put a stop to.

The King was not concern'd in it, as appears from *Rapin*, the Author he refers to, (p. 280, 282.) 'The Lords (says *Rapin*) debated the three following Questions, which were all resolv'd in the Negative. First, Whether this House shall consent to send Ten Thousand Scots into Ireland, before it can be ascertain'd, that Ten Thousand English will be sent thither also? 2. Whether this House shall consent to send Ten Thousand Scots, before the Bill for pressing be pass'd? 3. Whether this House shall now join with the Commons, in sending Ten Thousand Scots into Ireland?'

Neal, Ibid. Upon the whole it seems to me, that this barbarous Insurrection and Massacre was form'd by the Irish, to distress the Parliament, after the failure of doing it by the English Army.

He has told us before (p. 504.) *That the Parliament in their Declaration of March 9. say, that the Rebellion in Ireland was fram'd and contriv'd in England: And here, that it was form'd by the Irish to distress the Parliament. I leave it to him, to make these two Passages consistent.*

Neal, Ibid. That the King was willingly ignorant of the Progress of the Affair, having entrusted the Correspondence with the Queen, and her Council.

Upon the whole it seems to me, That Mr. Neal has shewn a greater Inclination to asperse the Royal Martyr in this respect, than the most villainous Regicide or Republican, who sign'd the Warrant for his Execution. This was not made an Article against him by the Commons, far less Enemies to the King, than

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than our Historian. * ' To make a little Flourish
' of Loyalty and Tenderneſs, for the King's Ho-
' nour and Reputation; it was this Day order'd
' (ſays *Nalſon*) that a Declaration be drawn for
' clearing his Maſteſty's Honour from falſe Re-
' ports caſt upon him by the Rebels in *Ireland*;
' and a Proviſion may be made, that there may be
' no Concluſion of that War, to the prejudice of
' the Kingdom.'

Nay, the very Regicides themſelves upon his
Trial, did not (I think) lay any thing of this kind
to his charge.

His Maſteſty, in his Meſſage to the two Houſes
from *Windſor*, upon paſſing the Bill againſt Biſhops
Votes, and another about Preſſing, *Feb.* 14. 1641.
ſays, † ' For *Ireland*, as he had concurr'd in all
' Propoſitions, made for that Service by his Par-
' liament; ſo he reſolv'd to leave nothing undone
' for their Relief, which ſhould poſſibly fall with-
' in his power; nor would reſuſe to venture his
' own Perſon in that War, if the Parliament ſhould
' think it convenient for the reduction of that mi-
' ſerable Kingdom.'

|| To this, the two Houſes return Thanks for
his Maſteſty's Care for *Ireland*, expreſs'd in the diſ-
patch of the Bill of Preſſing, ſo much importing
the Safety of this and that Kingdom.

Neal, p. 511. His Maſteſty reſolv'd to fill up the
vacant Sees, and order'd five Congé d'Elires to be
drawn for five Clergymen therein named: but the two
Houſes joining in a Petition to his Maſteſty to ſuſpend
his Commands till he came home, the matter was de-
lay'd; but ſoon after his return, he made the following
Removes and Promotions.

* *Nalſon*, Vol. II. p. 689.

† *Clarendon*, Vol. I. p. 334.

|| *Ruſhworth*, Vol. IV. p. 554.

* Lord Clarendon tells us, ' That as soon as the House of Commons heard of this Designation of his Majesty's (having newly, the second time, sent up to the House of Peers their Bill to remove Bishops from thence) they were much troubled, that at that time, when they resolv'd to take away the old, the King should *presume* to make new Bishops, and to create so many Voices to assist the other; and therefore they urg'd very earnestly, that the Lords might be mov'd to join with them in sending to the King, to make no new Bishops, till the Controversy should be ended about the Government of the Church: which appear'd so unreasonable, that the wisest of them, who wish'd it, apprehended no possibility that the Lords would join with them; or if they did, that the King would be prevail'd with.' He observes in the same place, ' That all the new-made Bishops were Men of great eminency in the Church, frequent Preachers, and not a Man to whom the Faults of the governing Clergy was then imputed, or against whom the least Objection could be made.'

Neal, p. 512. *A Committee had been appointed a Twelvemonth ago, at the Motion of the Lord Digby, to draw out all the Grievances of the Nation; such a Remonstrance as might be a faithful Representation to his Majesty, of the deplorable State of the Kingdom: but it was laid aside till this time, when the Prospect of an Agreement betwixt him and his Parliament being almost at an end, after the breaking out of the Irish Insurrection and Massacre; it was perfected and read in the House of Commons, Nov. 22.*

Lord Clarendon observes, † ' That this Remonstrance contain'd a very bitter Representation of all the Illegal Things which had been done, from

* History of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 239.

† Hist. Vol. I. p. 245.

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‘ the first Hour of the King’s coming to the Crown,
‘ to that Minute ; with all the sharp Reflections
‘ which could be made upon the King himself,
‘ the Queen and Council ; and publish’d all the un-
‘ reasonable Jealousies of the present Government,
‘ of the introducing Popery ; and all other Particu-
‘ lars that might disturb the Minds of the People :
‘ which were enough discomposed. The House seem’d
‘ generally to dislike it, many saying, that it was
‘ very unnecessary and unseasonable: Unnecessary,
‘ all those Grievances having already been fully re-
‘ dressed, and the Liberty and Property of the Sub-
‘ ject being as well secur’d for the future, as possi-
‘ bly could be done : And unseasonable, after the
‘ King had gratified them, with granting every
‘ thing they had desir’d of him ; and after so long
‘ Absence in settling the Disorders in another King-
‘ dom, which he had happily compos’d, to be
‘ now welcomed home with such a Volume of Re-
‘ proaches, for what others had done amiss, and
‘ which he himself had reform’d.’

Neal, p. 513. *It met with so strong an Opposition,*
that it was carried but by nine Voices, after a long De-
bate from three in the Afternoon, till three in the
Morning ; which made one say, that it look’d like the
Verdict of a starv’d Jury.

* *Lord Clarendon* says, ‘ That many withdrew
‘ themselves out of pure Faintness and Disability to
‘ attend the Conclusion.’ And *Whillock* †, ‘ That
‘ sitting up all Night, caused many through weak-
‘ ness or weariness to leave the House :’ upon which
Lord Clarendon adds, ‘ So near was the poor King-
‘ dom at that time to its Deliverance.’

Neal, p. 514. *The Remonstrance was presented to*
the King at Hampton-Court, Dec. 1. &c. ’Tis easy
to suppose it was not very acceptable, but the King

* Vol. I. p. 246.

† *Whillock’s Memorial*, p. 49.

310 Mr. NEAL's II^d Vol. of the
gave the Committee his Hand to kiss, and took time to
return an Answer.

He treated them with much more Respect than
was due to them, as appears from *Rushworth* *.

Neal, p. 517. His Majesty, in his Answer to this
Petition about a Week after, complains very justly of
the Disrespect of the Commons, in printing their Remon-
strance, before he had time to return an Answer.

And then follow these Words, (in † *Rushworth*,
omitted by Mr. Neal:) 'It is our Intention that no
' failing on your part, shall make us fail in ours,
' of giving all due Satisfaction to our People in a
' Parliamentary way ; and therefore we send you
' this Answer to your Petition, reserving ourself in
' point of the Declaration, which we think Unparlia-
' mentary, and shall take a course to do that, which
' we shall think fit in Prudence and Honour.'

Neal, p. 519. Some time after [Decemb. 15.] his
Majesty publish'd his Answer to the Remonstrance,
with a Declaration to all his loving Subjects.

|| 'The Graciousness and Temper of this An-
' swer, (says Lord Clarendon) made no Impression
' on them, but they proceeded in their usual man-
' ner, framing, and encouraging underhand, those
' Whispers, by which the Rebellion in Ireland
' might be understood to receive some extraordi-
' nary Countenance from the Court of England ;
' the Scandal whereof they knew would fall upon
' the Queen. At this time, the diligence and dex-
' terity of the Lord-Mayor caus'd an Address to
' be prepar'd to his Majesty, from the Court of
' Aldermen ; which was sent by the two Sheriffs,
' and two others of that Body ; by which his Ma-
' jesty was humbly desir'd to reside at Whitehall :
' which anger'd the Governing Party, as much as

* *Rushworth*, Vol. IV. p. 436, 437.

† *Ib.* Vol. IV. p. 452.

|| *Clarendon's History of the Rebellion*, Vol. I. p. 256.

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their kind Reception had done. This Petition was graciously receiv'd, all the Aldermen knighted, and the Court within a Day or two remov'd to Whitehall.'

Neal, p. 522. *The Petitions against the Bishops, were confronted with others out of the Country in their favour. November 18. The humble Petition of the Knights, Esquires, Gentlemen [and Householders in the County of Rutland, in behalf of themselves and Families; omitted] and of the Parsons, Vicars and Curates in Rutlandshire; was presented to the House, praying for the continuance of Episcopacy, as the only Government of Apostolical Institution, sealed with the Blood of Martyrs, admirably suited to the Civil Government of this Kingdom, and affirming, That no Presbyter laid on Hands without the Bishop.*

The Words of the Petition: * ' We humbly beg of you to leave us in that State the *Apostles* left the Church in, that the three Ages of Martyrs were govern'd by, that the thirteen Ages since them have always gloried in, by their Succession of Bishops since the *Apostles*; proving themselves Members of the *Apostolick* and *Catholick* Church; that our Laws have establish'd, so many Kings and Parliaments have protected; into which we were baptized. as certainly *Apostolical*, as the Observation of the Lord's-Day; as the distinction of Books *Apocryphal* and *Canonical*, as that such Books were written by such *Evangelists* and *Apostles*, as the Consecration of the Eucharist by *Presbyters*; as any thing which you will do by the upholding of the Government of the Church by *Bishops*, which we again and again beg of you to do, having pity on our Consciences, and not forcing us to seek Communion as yet we know not where. This Petition was sign'd by Knights,

* A Collection of Petitions, printed for William Sheares, 1641, p. 15. Penes me. Nalson's Collections, Vol. II. p. 656.

‘ Justices, Gentry and Freeholders about 800;
 ‘ Ministers about the Number of 40.’

Neal, p. 523. *A Petition was presented from Somersetshire, sign'd with about 14000 Names.*

And these were not of the *Rabble* or *Refuse* of the *People*, as the Petitions of the other side commonly were. ‘ Knights, Esquires, Divines, Gentlemen-Freeholders, Inhabitants of the County of *Somerset*, none of them *Papists*; but all *Protestants* of the Church of *England*, and his Majesty's loyal Subjects.’ N^o. 14350.

* Whereof Knights and Gentlemen	200.
Divines.	221.

There were a great many other Petitions in favour of Episcopacy, of which *Mr. Neal* takes no notice.

† One from *Cheeshire*, subscribed by four Lords; Knights, Justices of the Peace, and Esquires 94; Divines 86; Gentlemen of Quality 440; Freeholders and other Inhabitants 8936; all of the same County.

Which Petition concludes, ‘ That there be
 ‘ admitted no Innovation of Doctrine or Liturgy;
 ‘ that Holy Publick Service being so fast rooted by
 ‘ long settled continuance in the Church, that in
 ‘ our Opinion and Judgment it cannot be alter'd
 ‘ (unless by the Advice and Consent of some National Synod) without an Universal Discontent.
 ‘ And that some speedy Course be taken to suppress
 ‘ such *Schismatics* and *Separatists*, whose factious
 ‘ Spirits do evidently endanger the Peace both of
 ‘ Church and State.’

|| ‘ There was a Petition likewise from the County of *Nottingham*, subscribed by one Viscount,

* Collection of Petitions, &c. p. 13, 14.

† *Nelson*, p. 759. Collection of Petitions, p. 22.

|| *Ib.* p. 9.

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• five Knights, above a hundred Gentlemen of
• Quality, all the Clergy of the County, and above
• Six Thousand Commons, being all of them Com-
• municants.

* A Remonstrance and Petition from the County of *Huntington*, presented to the House of Peers the 8th of *December* 1641.

† The Petition from *Devonshire*, was sign'd by Knights, Esquires, Gentlemen, and other Inhabitants, near upon Eight Thousand.

‖ That from the Inhabitants of the County of *Stafford*; subscribed by Three Thousand of the best Quality of the County.

‡ The Petition of the County of *Kent*; by Knights Baronets 24; Esquires and Gentlemen of Note, above 200; Divines 108; Freeholders and Subsidy-Men 800; all within the Diocese of *Canterbury*.

** The Petition of the Six Shires of *North-Wales*, presented *March* 5. 1641; accompanied with Thirty Thousand Hands.

†† The Gratulation and Petition of divers of his Majesty's faithful Subjects of the true *Protestant* Religion, within the County Palatine of *Lancaster* to the King, art.sted by Knights and Esquires 64; Divines 55; Gentlemen 740; Freeholders near 7000.

‖‖ The Humble Petition of the County of *Cornwall* to the King, *May* 22. 1644. presented by *Peter Courtney*, *Walter Langdon*, *Benatus Bellot* and *Nevil Bligh*. ‡‡ A second Petition from the same County.

* Id. Ib.

† Ib. p. 24.

‖ Ib. p. 25.

‡ Ib. p. 26.

** Ib. p. 27.

†† Ib. p. 29. &c.

‖‖ Ib. p. 32.

‡‡ Ib. p. 37. 40.

The

* The humble Petition from the County of *Hereford*, subscribed by Knights, Esquires and Gentlemen of Quality 68; Doctors 8; Ministers of good Repute, as will appear by the original Petitions 150; Freeholders and Inhabitants of the County of *Hereford* 3600.

Neal, p. 523. *On the other hand, the Ministers appointed to sollicite their Remonstrance formerly mentioned, addressed the House, December 20. acknowledging their Piety and Zeal for the true Religion against Popery and Superstition, &c.*

Dr. Nalson observes upon this Petition, as follows: † ‘ Were I to give Instructions to draw the exact Pourtraiture of a *Non-conforming, Conforming Church-Hypocrite*, with Peace in one hand, and Fire and Sword in the other; with a Conscience like a Cockle-shell, that can shut so close, when it is under the fear of the Law, or losing his Living, that you cannot croud the smallest Scruple into it; when a Tide of Liberty wets him, can lay himself open and display all his Resentments against that Government of the Church, to whose Laws he had sworn Obedience, and by that horrid Sin of Perjury, must confess himself a Villain of no manner of Conscience; to swear without due Consideration, and to break his Oaths without a lawful Determination, that it was unlawful; I would recommend this Petition, as a rare Original to copy after.’

Neal, p. 525. *The carrying up these Petitions to Westminster, and especially of the London Apprentices, occasioned great Tumults about the Parliament-House.*

The King was at his Palace at Whitehall, attended by great Numbers of disbanded Officers, whom his Majesty receiv'd with great Ceremony, and employ'd

* *Ib.* p. 39, 40.

† *Nalson*, Vol. II. p. 766.

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as a Guard to his Royal Person. These Officers insulted the common People, and gave them ill Language, as they pass'd by the Court to the Parliament-House, crying out, No Bishops, no Popish Lords.

Did the King's Guards cry out so? If they did, they were unworthy to be a Guard to his Majesty. Or if he means, that the common People did so, (which is more probable) tho' his manner of Expression seems otherwise, the Officers did not use them worse than they deserv'd.

Neal, Ibid. If the People ventured to reply, the Officers follow'd their Reproaches with Cuts and Slashes, which (says Lord Clarendon) produced some Words, and drew Blood.

Lord Clarendon's Observation is this: * ' That
' when the disorderly Rabble first came down, (the
' Train-Bands of *Westminster* and *Middlesex* ap-
' pointed by the King, as a Guard to the two
' Houses) they resisted them, and would not suffer
' them to disturb the Houses; and some of them
' with great Rudeness pressing to the Door of the
' House of Peers, their Lordships appointed the
' Guards to be call'd up to remove them; and the
' Earl of *Dorset* being the Lord-Lieutenant of *Mid-*
' *dlesex*, (the Croud oppressing, and refusing to leave
' the Room) in some Passion call'd upon the
' Guard to give fire upon them: whereupon the
' Rabble affrighted left the Place, and hastened away.
' The House of Commons incensed that their Friends
' should be so used, much inveigh'd against the
' Earl of *Dorset*, and talk'd of accusing him of
' High-Treason, at least of drawing up some Im-
' peachment against him, for some Judgment he
' had been Party to in the *Star-Chamber*, or *Coun-*
' *cil-Table*, &c. They concluded, that since they
' could not have such a Guard as pleas'd them,

* History of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 264.

' they

' they would have none at all ; and so sent to the
 ' Lords for the discharge of the Train-Bands that
 ' attended them, who willingly consented, and it
 ' was done accordingly: the House of Commons
 ' declaring, that it should be lawful for every
 ' Member to bring his own Servant to attend at
 ' the Door, and with such Weapons as they thought
 ' fit. It was quickly understood abroad, that the
 ' Commons lik'd well the Visits of their Neigh-
 ' bours, so that the People assembled in greater
 ' Number than before about the House of Peers,
 ' calling still out with one Voice, *No Bishops, no Po-
 ' pish Lords* ; crouded and affronted such Lords as
 ' came near them, who they knew affected not
 ' their Ends, calling them *rotten-hearted Lords*.
 ' Hereupon the House of *Peers* desir'd a Confe-
 ' rence with the *Commons*, at which they complain'd
 ' of those Tumults, and told them, that such Dis-
 ' orders would be an Imputation upon the *Parlia-
 ' ment*, and make it be doubted whether they had
 ' Freedom: and so might happily become a blemish
 ' to those many good Laws they had made
 ' already, as well as prevent the passing more.
 ' And therefore desir'd them, that they would, for
 ' the Dignity of Parliaments, join with them in a
 ' Declaration, for suppressing such Tumults. This
 ' was reported to the Commons, and as soon laid
 ' aside for the handling of other Matters of more
 ' importance.'

Neal, Ibid. Dr. Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, lately promoted to the See of York, going by Land to the House of Peers, in company with the Earl of Dover, and bearing a Youth cry out louder than the rest, No Bishops, no Popish Lords ; stept from the Earl, and laid hands on him ; but his Companions rescu'd him, and about one hundred surrounding the Bishop, hemm'd him in, and with an universal Shout cry'd out, No Bishops ;

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Bishops; after which, they open'd a Passage, and let his Grace go forward to the House.

* Lord Clarendon tells us, ' That they laid hands on the Archbishop of York in that manner, that if he had not been seasonably rescued, 'twas believ'd, they would have murder'd him. So that all the Bishops, and many Members of both Houses withdrew themselves from attending, from a real Apprehension of endangering their Lives.'

Neal, p. 526. *Others walking in the Abbey, whilst their Friends were waiting for an Answer to their Petition, were order'd by the Vergers to clear the Church, lest the Ornaments of the Cathedral should suffer damage; upon which most of them went out, and suffer'd the Doors to be shut, but some few remaining behind, were apprehended, and carried before the Bishop, which occasioned another Skirmish, in which Sir Richard Wiseman was killed by a Stone from the Battlements.*

† ' The Tumults and Insolences (says Lord Clarendon) increased, insomuch as many dissolute and profane People went into the Abbey of Westminster, and would have pull'd down the Organs, and some Ornaments in the Church; but being resisted, and by force driven out, they threatned they would come with greater Numbers, and pull down the Church.

' Upon this, the Lords desir'd the Commons to join with them in a Declaration against Tumults, but a Conference could not be procured; and after several Speeches had been made in justification of them, and commendation of their Affections, some saying, *They must not discourage their Friends*; this being a time they must make use of all Friends; Mr. Pym himself saying, God for-

* History of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 266.

† Vol. I. p. 264.

‘ bid the House of Commons should proceed in
 ‘ any way to dishearten People, to obtain their
 ‘ just Desires in such a way. The Lords upon this,
 ‘ direct a Writ to be issued out to appoint Watches,
 ‘ and the House of Commons discharge them.’

*Neal, Ibid. The House of Commons being no less
 afraid of themselves, petitioned for a Guard out of the
 City of London, under the Command of the Earl of
 Essex; which his Majesty refused, but told them, he
 would take as much Care of them, as of his own
 Children; and if that would not suffice, he would
 command such a Guard to wait upon them, as he would
 be answerable to God for. But the House not being wil-
 ling to trust the King's Guard, declin'd his Majesty's
 Offer, and not prevailing for one of their own chusing,
 they order'd Halberds to be brought into the House, and
 resolv'd in case of Assault to defend themselves.*

If we take the King's Words uncurtailed from
Rushworth, we shall see what small Grounds they
 had for their Fears. * ‘ We have taken the last
 ‘ Message from you, touching your Desire of a
 ‘ Guard, into our serious Consideration, and truly
 ‘ with great Grief of Heart, that after a whole
 ‘ Year's sitting of this Parliament, wherein you
 ‘ have obtain'd those Things for the Happiness and
 ‘ Security of yourselves, and the rest of our Sub-
 ‘ jects, as no Age can equal; instead of reaping in
 ‘ Peace and Tranquillity the Fruits of your La-
 ‘ bours, and of our Grace and Affection to our
 ‘ People, we should find Jealousies, Distrusts and
 ‘ Fears still so prevalent among you, as to induce
 ‘ you to declare them unto us in so high a measure,
 ‘ as you have done at this time.

‘ We are wholly ignorant of the Grounds of
 ‘ your Apprehensions, but this we do protest to
 ‘ Almighty God, (to whom we must be accounta-

* *Rushworth*, Vol. IV. p. 471, 472.

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ble for those, whom he hath intrusted to our Care and Protection) that had we had any Knowledge or Belief of the least Design in any, of Violence either formerly, or at this time against you, we would pursue them to condign Punishment, with the same Severity and Detestation that we would the greatest Attempt upon our Crown. We know the Duty of that Place, where God hath set us, the Protection we owe to all our loyal Subjects, and most particularly to you, call'd to our Service by our Writs; and we do engage unto you solemnly the Word of a King, that the Security of all, and every one of you from Violence, is, and shall ever be as much our Care, as the Preservation of us and our Children. And if this general Assurance shall not suffice to remove your Apprehensions, we will command such a Guard to wait upon you, as we will be responsible for, to him who hath charg'd us with the Safety and Protection of our Subjects.'

Neal, p. 529. This Protestation [viz. of the Bishops] was presented to the King by Archbishop Williams, who undertook to justify the Lawfulness of it; but his Majesty declining to appear in so nice an Affair, deliver'd it into the hands of the Lord-Keeper Littleton, who, by his Majesty's Command, read it in the House of Lords this Morning.

Bishop Hacket's Account of this Matter, in his Life of Archbishop Williams, is as follows: *
York (says he) call'd his Brethren together, to set their Hands to a Petition and Protestation made to his Majesty and the Lords Temporal, and put it into the Lord-Keeper Littleton's hand; yet not to be read till his Majesty, by the Bishops Invitation, should sit with the Peers in the House, and then to read it in the King's and the Lords

* Bishop Hacket's Life of Bishop Williams, Part. II. p. 178.

" Audience, and not before. The Lord-Keeper un-
 " advisedly (I hope it was not worse) produceth the
 " Petition, &c. before the King was made ac-
 " quainted with it; which made a Project well con-
 " triv'd, break out into a *Thunder-clap* of Mischief;
 " which rash or bad dealing in the Lord-Keeper,
 " *York* could not suspect. That Protestation follows
 " here, whose like, and almost the same, *York* had
 " found in the Records of the *Tower*. " Hear and
 " admire (says Bishop *Hacket*, p. 179.) ye Ages to
 " come, what became of this Protestation, drawn
 " up by as many Bishops, as have often made a
 " whole Provincial Council; they were all call'd
 " by the Temporal Lords to the Bar, and from
 " the Bar sent away to the *Tower*. A rude World,
 " when it was safer to do wrong, than to com-
 " plain of it: the People commit the Trespas,
 " and the Sufferers are punish'd for their Fault."

Lord *Clarendon's* Observation upon their being
 sent to the *Tower* is this: * " When the Passion,
 " Rage and Fury of this Time shall be forgotten,
 " and Posterity shall find among the Records of the
 " Supreme Court of Judicature, so many Orders
 " and Resolutions, in vindication of the Liberties
 " of the Subjects, against the Imprisonment of any
 " Man, tho' by the King himself, without assign-
 " ing such a Crime as the Law hath determined to
 " be worthy of Imprisonment; and in the same
 " Year, by this High Court, shall find 12 Bishops,
 " Members of this Court, committed to Prison for
 " High-Treason, for presenting this Protestation;
 " Men will surely wonder at the Spirit of that Re-
 " formation, and even that Clause of declaring all
 " Acts null, which had been, or should be done in
 " their absence, in Defence of which no Man then
 " durst open his Mouth, will be thought good Law

* History of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 278.

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and good Logick : not that the Presence of the Bishops of that time was so essential, that no Act should pass without them, which had given the Voice in the Matter, as Negative as the King's; and themselves in their * *Instrument* disclaim'd the least pretence to such a Qualification. But because a Violence offer'd to the Freedom of any one Member, is a Violation to all the rest. As if a Council consist of Threescore, and the Door to that Council be kept by armed Men, and all such whose Opinions are not liked, are kept out by Force ; no doubt the Freedom of those within is infringed, and all their Acts are void and null, as if they were lock'd in, or kept without Meat till they alter'd their Judgments.'

† ' This Action of theirs (says another Author) was unaccountably voted High-Treason, and

* The Words in the *Humble Petition*, and *Protestation of the Bishops*, printed 1642, 4to. ' They likewise humbly protest before your *Majesty*, and the noble House of *Peers*, that saving unto themselves all the Rights and Interests of sitting and voting in that House as at other Times, they dare not sit or vote in the House of *Peers*, until your Majesty shall further secure them from all Affronts, Indignities, and Dangers in the Premises.

' Lastly, Whereas their Fears are not built upon Phantasies and Concepts, but upon such Grounds and Objects as may well terrify Men of good Resolutions, and much Constancy; they do in all Duty and Humility protest before your *Majesty*, and the *Peers* of that most honourable House of *Parliament*, against all Laws, Orders, Votes, Resolutions, and Determinations, as in themselves null, and of none Effect; which in their Absence since the 27th of this Instant Month *December* 1641, have already passed; as likewise against all such as shall hereafter pass in that most honourable House, during the Time of their forced and violent Absence from the said most honourable House. Not denying, but if their absenting of themselves were wilful, and voluntary, that most honourable House might proceed in all these Premises, their Absence, or this their Protestation notwithstanding.'

† Seditious Preachers, Ungodly Teachers, &c. against Dr. Calamy's Abridgement of *Baxter's* Life, 1709, p. 56, 57. Penes me.

' compared, yea preferr'd to the *Gun-powder Treason Plot*; upon which twelve Bishops were imprisoned as so many Traytors, and amongst them the very venerable Bishop *Hall*, who desired some Favour might be shewn to his great Age, the Extremity of the Weather moving him to that Request; which was all in vain, for they were kept under safe Custody for half a year together, to the very great detriment of their Healths and Estates: They were often brought to the Bar of the House, where, upon their Knees, they were mortified with a sham Impeachment of High-Treason. It was certainly a strange Spirit of Reformation, which at that time possessed the Parliament, to imprison the twelve Bishops, for only petitioning to be protected in, and restored to their lawful Rights: and yet had often declared, the same Privilege did undoubtedly belong to the meanest Person. It must be own'd, that the Bishops were often Sufferers by their Discharge from the *Tower*, for there they had a Place to rest their Heads in; whereas, when they return'd to their respective Dioceses, they met with an Ordinance of Parliament to seize upon, and turn them out of their Houses and Estates both Real and Personal: and Bishop *Hall* observes, that one of those *Sequestrators*, who was appointed to seize upon all his Estate, had been *burnt in the Hand, for the Mark of his Truth*; a very proper Agent for such dirty Work. These Men used very diligent Severity towards the Bishop, by exposing all his Goods, and very Library to Publick Sale: The Bishop had nothing left wherewithal to redeem them himself, but some good Friends bought them, and trusted him for the Payment.*

Of this good Bishop, a Friend speaks thus*:
 ' What have they to answer for, who, when they

* A Letter to *Joseph* Lord Bishop of *Norwich*, from *H. S.* Jan. 29. 1641.

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‘ can find no real Blemish upon you, dare, like the
‘ *Romish Imagers* in *Queen Mary’s* days, paint
‘ Fiends and Faults upon your Coat; as those cun-
‘ ningly cruel Men, in the Primitive Time, cloath-
‘ ing the harmless *Christian* Martyrs, with the
‘ Skins of salvage Bears and Bulls, that they might
‘ be baited and torn by the deceiv’d Mastiffs,
‘ which would have fawn’d upon them, had they
‘ appear’d in their own Shapes.’

* ‘ What has been exemplified in the Case of Bi-
‘ shop *Hall*, might likewise be instanced in Bishop
‘ *Moreton*, who equally suffer’d by Imprisonments,
‘ Sequestrations and Defamation.’

Neal, p. 533. *His Majesty having been assured,*
that the Lord Kimbolton, and five of the most active
Members in the House of Commons, viz. Denzil Hol-
lis &c. Esqs; had invited the Scots into England, and
were now the chief Encouragers of those Tumults, that
had kept the Bishops and Popish Lords from the House;
[This Gentleman has an artful way of joining the
Bishops and Popish Lords together:] *That they had*
assess’d his Government, and were endeavouring to
deprive him of his Royal Power; resolv’d to impeach
them of High-Treason. Accordingly his Majesty sent his
Attorney-General to the House with the Articles, Jan. 3. and
sent Officers to their Houses to seal up their Trunks, &c.
But the Members not being order’d into Custody, as his
Majesty expected, he went himself to the House, the next
Day in the Afternoon, to seize them, attended with a-
bout 200 Officers and Soldiers, arm’d with Swords and
Pistols; the Gentlemen of the Inns of Court, who had
offer’d their Service to defend the King’s Person, having
Notice to be ready at an Hour’s warning.’

† ‘ The next Day in the Afternoon (says Lord Cla-
‘ rendon) the King attended only with his own usual

* Seditious Preachers, &c. p. 57.

† Clarendon’s Hist. Vol. I. p. 281. Ib. p. 291. Ib. p. 341.
Rushworth, Vol. IV. p. 481. p. 708.

Guard, and some few Gentlemen who put themselves in their Company in the way, came to the House of Commons; and commanded all his Attendants to wait at the Door, and give Offence to no Man, himself with his Nephew the *Prince Elector* went into the House, to the great Amazement of all; and the *Speaker* leaving the Chair, the King went into it.

Neal, Ibid. Having assured the Members, that he design'd no Force nor Breach of Privilege, after a little time he withdrew; but as his Majesty was going out, many Members cry'd out aloud, as he might hear them, Privilege, Privilege!

Lord Clarendon gives this account of the *Privilege of Parliament*. * ‘It is not to be believ’d (says he) how many sober, well-minded Men, who were real Lovers of the Peace of the Kingdom, and had a full Submission and Reverence to the known Laws, were impos’d upon, and had their Understandings confounded, and so their Wills perverted, by the mere mention of *Privilege of Parliament*; which, instead of the plain and intelligible Notion of it, was by the dexterity of those *Boutefeus*, and their Under-Agents of the Law, and the supine Sottishness of the People, render’d such a Mystery, as could be only explain’d by themselves, and extended as far as they found necessary to their Occasions, and was to be acknowledged a good Reason for any thing, that no other Reason could be given for. “We are, say they, and have been always confessed, the only Judges of our own *Privileges*; and therefore whatsoever we declare to be our *Privilege*, is such: otherwise, whosoever determines that it is not so, makes himself Judge of that, whereof the Cognifance only belongs to us.” ‘And this *Sophisti-*

* History of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 310, 311, 312.

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cal Riddle perplexed many ; who, notwithstanding the desperate Consequence they saw must result from such Logick, taking the first Proposition for true, which being rightly understood, is so, have not been able to wind themselves out of the Labyrinth of the Conclusion: I say, the Proposition rightly understood ; they are the only Judges of their own *Privileges*, that is, upon the breach of those *Privileges*, which the Law hath declared to be their own, and what Punishment is to be inflicted upon such Breach. But there can be no *Privilege* of which the Law doth not take notice, which is not pleadable by, and at Law.

The Truth and Clearness of this will best appear by Instance : If I am arrested by Process out of any Court, I am to plead in the Court, that I am a Member of *Parliament*, and that by *Privilege of Parliament* my Person ought to be free from Arrests. Upon this Plea, the Judge is bound to discharge me ; and if he does not, he is a Criminal, as for any other Trespass against the Law. But the punishing this Person, who hath made this Infringement, is not within his power, but proper to that Jurisdiction, against which the Contempt is ; therefore that House, of which I am a Member, upon Complaint made of such an *Arrest*, usually sends for the Persons culpable, the Party at whose Suit the *Arrest* is made, and the Officers which executed it, and commits them to Prison, till they make acknowledgment of their Offence. But that House never sends, at least never did till this *Parliament*, any Order to the Court, out of which the Process issued, to stay the Proceedings at Law, because the *Privilege* ought to be legally pleaded. So that after the dissolution of *Parliament*, if I am arrested within the Days of *Privilege*, upon any Plea of *Privilege*, the Court discharges me ; but then the Party

‘ that arrests me, escapes Punishment till the next
 ‘ *Parliament* ; the Judge having no more Power to
 ‘ commit the Man, that *sued* and *arrested* me, than
 ‘ he hath to imprison a Man for bringing an Ac-
 ‘ tion at Law, when he hath no good Title, nei-
 ‘ ther is he Judge of the Contempt.

‘ Again, if a Man brings an Information, or an
 ‘ Action of the Case, for Words spoken by me ;
 ‘ and I plead, that the Words were spoken by me
 ‘ in *Parliament*, when I was a Member there, and
 ‘ that it is against the *Privilege* of *Parliament*, that
 ‘ I should be impleaded in any other Place, for
 ‘ Words I spoke there ; I ought to be discharged
 ‘ from this Action, or Information, because this
 ‘ *Privilege* is known and pleadable at Law: but
 ‘ that Judge can neither punish nor examine
 ‘ the Breach of *Privilege*, nor censure the Con-
 ‘ tempt. And this is the true and proper meaning of
 ‘ the old receiv’d *Axiom*, That they are Judges only
 ‘ of their own *Privileges*.

‘ And indeed these two, of Freedom from *Ar-*
 ‘ *rests* for their Persons, (which originally hath not
 ‘ been of that Latitude, to make a *Parliament* a
 ‘ *Sanctuary* for *Bankrupts*, where any Person *out-*
 ‘ *lawed* hath been declared incapable of being re-
 ‘ turn’d thither a Member) and of Liberty of
 ‘ Speech, were accounted their chiefest *Privileges*
 ‘ of *Parliament*. For their other, of Access to the
 ‘ King, and Correspondence by Conference with
 ‘ the Lords, are rather of the Essence of their
 ‘ Councils, than *Privileges* belonging to them. But
 ‘ that their being Judges of their *Privileges*, should
 ‘ qualify them to make new *Privileges*, or that
 ‘ their Judgment should create them such, as it
 ‘ was a Doctrine never before now heard of, so it
 ‘ could not but produce all those monstrous Effects
 ‘ we have seen ; when they have assumed to swal-
 ‘ low all the *Rights*, and *Prerogatives* of the Crown,

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the Liberties and Lands of the Church; the Power and Jurisdiction of the Peers; in a word, the Religion, Laws and Liberties of England, in the bottomless and insatiable Gulph of their own Privileges. And no doubt these Invasions, on pretence of Privilege, will hereafter be judged to have been the most unparallel'd, and capital Breach of those Privileges, that had ever yet been attempted.'

Neal, Ibid. The House was in a terrible Panick, while the King was in the Chair; the Door of the House, with all the Avenues, being crouded with Officers and Soldiers.

How different this is, from Lord Clarendon's Account, the following Words will show. * 'Tis evident (says he) that the King's Resolution of coming to the House, had been discover'd by the Members withdrawing themselves, and by a Composedness, which appear'd in the Countenance of many, who used to be disturbed at less surprising Occurrences.'

Neal, p. 534. But though his Majesty was nobly entertained by the Sheriffs, he now perceived, that this rash and unadvised Action had lost him the Hearts of the Citizens.

By Citizens, I presume, he means no more, than that he had lost the Hearts of that Mob, which had been spirited up, and encourag'd by the House of Commons; for he calls them in another Place, (p. 527.) *The Inhabitants of the City of London.*

Neal, Ibid. Some say, this was my Lord Digby's mad Project, who when he found his Majesty, after his return out of the City, vexed at his Disappointment, offer'd to go with a select Number, and bring them dead or alive; but the King was afraid of the Consequences of such an Enterprize.

* Lord Clarendon's History, Vol. I. p. 282.

* Lord Clarendon's Words : ' But the King
' liked not such Enterprizes.

Neal, p. 536. *It must be confessed, that two Days after, the King sent a Message to the House, waving his Proceedings, with respect to the five Members, and promising to be as careful of their Privileges, as of his Life or Crown; and a little after, his Majesty offer'd a general Pardon, but the Commons had too much reason at this time not to depend upon his Royal Promise.*

This is spoke like Mr. Neal. Why might they not depend upon his Royal Promise? I challenge him to produce one single Instance, in which the King had fail'd to perform his Promise to his Parliament; his *Ipse dixit* in this Case, will not sure be admitted as Proof. The Lord Clarendon has given us the King's Propositions, and Messages to both Houses; and takes notice, † ' That they were received by the Lords with great signs of Joy, in-
' somuch, that they desir'd the Commons to join
' with them in returning of Thanks to his Majesty
' for his gracious Offers, and to assure him, that
' they would forthwith apply themselves to those
' Considerations. However, the next Day they
' join'd together in a Petition to the King, that he
' would in a very few days send his Proofs, and
' proceed against the Members he had accused of
' High-Treason, or declare them innocent, and
' himself ill-advised.'

Neal, p. 544. *The Command of the Militia had been usually in the Crown; tho' the Law had not positively determined in whom that great Power was lodged, as Mr. Whitlock undertook to prove before the Commissioners at Uxbridge.*

In the Treaty at Uxbridge, printed in King Charles's Works, and in Dugdale's Short View of the

* Clarendon's History, Vol. I. p. 283.

† Vol. I. p. 309, 310.

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Troubles of *England*, and separate by itself in 4to, by *Litchfield* 1645; I can find no such Offer of Proof made by Mr. *Whitlock*; and as he subjoins no Authority for it, he will not I hope take it amiss, if we don't implicitly take his Word. * ' Upon their petitioning the King [in which the House of Lords did not concur with them] to settle the Militia, &c. he, without any Discomposure, sent them a soft Answer; That tho' the Nomination of those, to whom the Custody of Forts and Castles were to be committed, was an inseparable Flower of the Crown; yet he would leave them to the Justice of his Parliament, if thro' Mis-information he had committed such a Trust upon any undeserving Person, and that when any particular Course for the ordering of the Militia was digested by his Parliament, and proposed to him, he would return such an Answer as should be agreeable to his Honour, and the Safety of his People; conjuring them not to be transported with groundless Fears and Jealousies. And tho' in their Reply (says Mr. *Echard*) next day, *they acknowledged it an inseparable Flower of the Crown*, to dispose of the *Fort*s and *Castles* of the Kingdom, and that the *Militia* by *Law* was subject to no Command, but the King's Authority; yet being so deeply involved, they resolved to set up their Rest upon that Stake, and go through with it, or perish in the Attempt.'

Neal, Ibid. *Multitudes of Petitions were presented to the House, from the City of London, Middlesex, Hertford, Essex, &c.*

And there were some remarkable ones, of which Mr. *Neal* has taken no notice. They were to the House of Commons, † ' One from the Por-

* *Echard*, Vol. II. p. 290.

† *Echard's History of England*, Vol. II. p. 290.

' ters, Fifteen Thousand, as they said, in Number ;
 ' and another in the Name of many Thousands of
 ' poor People, in and about the City of *London*.
 ' The *Porters*, with great Eloquence, exclaim'd a-
 ' gainst the prevalence of an adverse, malignant,
 ' blood-sucking, rebellious Party, who insulted
 ' the *Privileges* of *Parliament*, and fomented the
 ' *Irish* Rebellion; which, if not punished, they
 ' should be forced to Extremities not fit to be na-
 ' med, and make good the Saying, *That Necessity*
 ' *has no Law*. They had nothing to lose but their
 ' Lives, which they would willingly expose in
 ' Defence of the House of Commons, according
 ' to the Protestation. * The *Beggars* declar'd,
 ' That their Oppressions were so great, by means
 ' of the *Bishops* and *Popish Lords*, that they knew
 ' not where to get Bread; Want, and Necessity
 ' breaking the Bounds of Modesty, would force
 ' them to lay hold of the next Remedy to remove
 ' the Disturbers of the Peace, and the Hinderers
 ' of the happy Proceedings, who ought to be pub-
 ' lickly laid open to the World; and they cry'd
 ' out for the *Lord's sake to be heard*, that their
 ' Religion, Lives and Welfare might be precious
 ' in their sight; that the Loins of the Poor might
 ' bless them. The House, according to its usual
 ' Condescension, order'd Thanks to be return'd
 ' by the Speaker to these strange Petitioners, affu-
 ' ring them they had then their very Complaints un-
 ' der Consideration. To whom some of the *Rabble*
 ' reply'd, according as they been taught, *That they*
 ' *never doubted the House of Commons, but they heard*
 ' *all stuck in the Lord's House*; and they desir'd to
 ' know the Names of those *Peers*, who hinder'd
 ' the Agreement between the good Lords and
 ' Commons.'

* Id. Ib.

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* A Third, from the Tradefmens Wives in and about the City of *London*, to the Commons, *February* 4, 1641. delivered by Mrs. *Anne Stagg*, a Brewer's Wife, with many others of the like Rank and Quality. When the House had spent some time in reading it, they sent Answer by Mr. *Pym*, in this manner:

“ Mr. *Pym* came to the *Commons* Door, and called for the Women, and spake to them in these Words: “ Good Women, your Petition, and the Reasons, have been read in the House, and is thankfully accepted of, and is come in a seasonable Time. You shall, God willing, receive from us, all the Satisfaction which we can possibly give to your just and lawful Desires. We intreat you to repair to your Houses, and turn your *Petition*, which you have delivered here, into *Prayers at home for us*: for we have been, and are, and shall be (to our utmost power) ready to relieve you, your Husbands, and Children, and to perform the Trust committed unto us, towards God, our King, and Country, as becometh faithful *Christians*, and loyal Subjects.” These Petitions would have been worthy of a Place in Mr. *Neal*'s curious Collection.

Neal, p. 545. After this, they presented a third Petition to the King at *Theobalds*; in which they protest, That if his Majesty persists in that Denial, [viz. of the Militia] the Dangers and Distempers of the Kingdom were such, as would endure no longer

* *Penes me*. Lord *Clarendon* informs us, Vol. 2: p. 353. That *Pym* died with great Torment and Agony, of a Disease unusual, and therefore more spoken of, *Morbus pediculosis*, as was reported; which rendered him an Object very loathsome to those who had been most delighted with him. No Man had more to answer for the Miseries of the Kingdom, or had his Hand or Head deeper in the Contrivance; and yet (he says) he believes they grew much higher, even in his Life, than he designed.

Delay;

Delay; and therefore, if his Majesty will not satisfy their Desires, they shall be enforced, for the Safety of the Kingdom, to dispose of the Militia, by Authority of both Houses of Parliament; and they resolve to do it accordingly: beseeching his Majesty, at the same time, to reside near his Parliament.

That is, in other words, If the King will not readily give up his Prerogative to us, we are resolved to take it from him by force. Fine Language from *Subjects* to their *Sovereign*, and incapable of Defence from any *Historian*, who is not a *Republican*.

Neal, *ibid.* The King was so enflamed with this Protestation, that he told them, he was amazed at their Message, but should not alter his Resolution.

* ‘ As soon as the Petition was read, the King told them that presented it, That he was so much amazed at their Message, that he knew not what to answer; he said, they spoke of Jealousies and Fears, but he desired them to lay their Hands to their Hearts, and ask themselves, whether he might not likewise be disturbed with Fears and Jealousies? And if so, he assured them, that Message had nothing lessen’d them. For the *Militia*, he said, he had thought so much of it, before he sent his Answer, and was so well assured, that the Answer was agreeable to what in Reason or Justice they could ask, or he in Honour grant, that he should not alter it in any point.

† ‘ For his Residence near them, he said, he wished it might be so safe and honourable, that he had no cause to absent himself from *White-ball*: he bid them ask themselves, whether he had not. To conclude, he assured them, upon his Honour, that he had no thought but of Peace,

* *Clarendon's History*, Vol. I. p. 344.

† *Id. ib.*

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‘ and Justice to his People, which he would, by
‘ all fair means, seek to preserve and maintain ;
‘ relying upon the Goodness and Providence of
‘ God, for the Preservation of himself and his
‘ Rights.’

This *House of Commons* had the Assurance, (to call it by no worse Name) after this, ‘ to order, ‘ that all the Lords Lieutenants of any Counties ‘ of *England*, who had formerly been so constituted by the King, by his Commissions under the ‘ Great Seal of *England*, that they should immediately bring in those Commissions, to be cancelled as illegal.’ (*Id. ib.*) Can this by any one but Mr. Neal, or the most rancorous *Republican*, be deem’d any other than a seditious and rebellious Behaviour, when the *Commons* had before acknowledged the sole Right of the *Militia* to be vested in the King?

Neal, *ibid.* March 9, *both Houses presented a Declaration to the King at New-market, expressing the Causes of their Fears and Jealousies, &c.*

And this one of the boldest Declarations that ever was sent to a *Crown’d Head*, as appears from the Declaration at large, in the Place referred to in * *Rushworth*.

Neal, p. 546. *His Majesty’s best Friends advised him to take this Opportunity to return to London.*

† The Earl of *Holland* was the Adviser ; and if he might be esteem’d one of *His Majesty’s best Friends*, then may Mr. Neal be said to have treated his Majesty’s Memory all along with more than common Decency.

His Majesty’s Answer to this Advice of his *best Friends* was: || ‘ I would you had given me cause ; ‘ but I am sure this Declaration is not the way to

* Vol. IV. p. 528.

† *Rushworth*, Vol. IV. p. 533.

|| *Id. ib.*

‘ it, and in all *Aristotle's* Rhetorick, there is no
‘ Argument of Persuasion.’

Neal, *ibid.* But instead of this, he broke into a
Passion, and told them, he had his Fears for the true
Protestant Profession, and Laws, as well as they.

The King's Words: * ‘ For my Fears and Doubts,
‘ I did not think they should have been thought
‘ so groundless or trivial, while so many seditious
‘ Pamphlets and Sermons are look'd upon, and so
‘ great Tumults are remembred, unpunished, un-
‘ inquired into; I still confess my Fears, and call
‘ God to witness, that they are greater for the true
‘ Protestant Profession, my People, and Laws,
‘ than for my own Rights, or Safety; tho' I must
‘ tell you, I conceive that none of these are free
‘ from Danger.’

Neal, *ibid.* What would you have? (says his Ma-
jesty.) Have I violated your Laws, ‡ or denied to pass
any Bill, for the ease of my Subjects? I don't ask
what any of you have done for me. [‘ Have any of
‘ my People been transported with Fears and Ap-
‘ prehensions? I have offered as free and general
‘ a Pardon, as yourselves can devise. All this con-
‘ sidered, there is a Judgment upon this Nation,
‘ if these Distractions continue.’ Omitted by Mr.
Neal. See *Rushworth*, p. 532.]

Neal, *ibid.* God so deal with me and mine, as [‘ all
‘ my Thoughts,’ omitted.] and Intentions are up-
right for the maintaining the true Protestant Profession,
and the Laws of the Land. [The Words in *Rush-*
worth; ‘ And for the Observation and Preserva-

* *Ibid.* p. 532.

‡ ‘ Sir Edward Deering, in a Speech, acknowledged, That the
King had yet denied them nothing. Says he, *We are all bound
to the Goodness of His Sacred Majesty, (God preserve him and
his for it:)* None of all our Bills, none of our Petitions, this
Parliament have miscarried in his Royal Hand, but have been
all completed with the Royal Assent.’ Bishop Kenner's com-
pleat History, Vol. III. p. 109.

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tion of the Laws of the Land. [And I hope God will bless and assist those Laws, for my Preservation.] Omitted.]

Neal, *ibid.* Being asked by the Earl of Pembroke, whether he would not grant the Militia for a little time? his Majesty swore by God, No, not for an Hour. Then follow these Words, omitted by Mr.

Neal: 'You have ask'd that of me in this, was never ask'd of a King, and with which I will not trust my Wife and Children.'

'He told them, * he could not have believed the Parliament would have sent him such a Declaration, if he had not seen it brought by such Persons of Honour; and said, he was sorry for the Parliament, but glad he had it; he doubted not to satisfy his People. He said they spoke of ill Counsels, but was confident they had worse Informations; than he had Counsels. He told them, the Business of *Ireland* would never be done, in the way they were in, Four hundred would never do that Work; it must be put into the hands of one. And he said, if he was trusted with it, he would pawn his Head to end that Work.'

Lord Clarendon observes, † 'That as soon as the Committee returned, and reported what Answer they had received, and in what Disposition and Temper they found and left the King; it was ordered, That their Declaration which they had sent to him, should be speedily printed, and carefully dispersed throughout the Kingdom, that the People might see upon what Terms they stood; and all other possible Courses were taken to poison the Hearts and Affections of the Subjects, and to suppress all those who in any degree seem'd to dislike their high Proceedings. Above all, Care was taken to place such Preachers and

* *Rushworth*, Vol. IV. p. 532, 533.

† *History of the Rebellion*, Vol. I. p. 352.

‘ Lecturers

‘ Lecturers in the most populous Towns and Parishes, as were well known to abhor the present Government, and Temperature both in Church and State; many of which were recommended, and positively enjoin’d, and imposed upon Parishes, by the House of Commons: and all *Canonical Clergymen*, and *Orthodox Divines*, were, with equal Industry, discountenanced, imprisoned, and forced upon long Attendance upon Committees, or the House, under the Notion and Imputation of *scandalous Ministers*; which Charge and Reproach reach’d all Men, whose Inclinations they liked not, or whose Opinions they suspected.’

And Mr. *Echard* tells us, * ‘ That all noble and generous Minds were strangely moved with the Proceedings of the Parliament, whose Leaders were now become implacable, and were resolved to remove all those who opposed any thing they desired, or filled up a Place they designed for some other, in whom they could confide.’

Neal, p. 547. *But the Ordinance of March 5, for disposing of the Militia by both Houses of Parliament, without the King, in Cases of extreme Danger to the Nation, of which Danger, the two Houses were the proper Judges, with the subsequent Resolutions of March 16, were the grand Crisis, which divided the two Parties in the House.*

† ‘ From this last Resolution, (says Lord *Clarendon*) by which the Laws of the Land, and consequently the Liberty of the Subject, was resolved into a Vote of the two Houses, which passed without any Dispute or Hesitation; all sober Men discerned the fatal Period of both, and saw a Foundation laid for the *Anarchy*, and *Confusion* that afterwards followed.’

* *Echard's History*, Vol. II. p. 292.

† *History of the Rebellion*, Vol. I. p. 354.

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Neal, p. 548. *His Majesty acquainted the Houses from Huntington with his Design, to reside for some time at York; and adds, That they should pay a due Regard to his Prerogative, and to the Laws established; and that none of his Subjects should presume, under Colour of any Order or Ordinance of Parliament, to which his Majesty is not a Party, to do or execute what is not warranted by Law. His Majesty's Intention by this Message, was to put a stop to all farther Proceedings of the Parliament, for their own, and the Nation's Security, &c.*

His Majesty's Declaration is just the reverse of what he mentions: * ' And that his Majesty may leave no way unattempted, which may beget a good Understanding between him and his Parliament, he thinks it necessary to declare, that as he has been so tender of the Privileges of Parliament, that he has been ready and forward to retract any Act of his own, which he has been informed hath trench'd upon their Privileges; so he expects an equal Tendernefs in *them*, of his Majesty's known and unquestionable Privileges, (which are the Privileges of the Kingdom) amongst which he is assured it is a fundamental one, That his Subjects cannot be obliged to obey any Act, Order, or Injunction, to which his Majesty has not given his Consent. And therefore, he thinks it necessary to publish, that he expects, and hereby requires Obedience of all his loving Subjects to the Laws established; and that they presume not, upon any Pretence of Order or Ordinance (to which his Majesty was no Party) concerning the Militia, or any other things, to do or execute what is not warranted by those Laws: His Majesty being resolved to

* Lord Clarendon's History, Vol. I. p. 353. Rushworth, Vol. IV. p. 533, 534.

‘ keep the Laws himself, and to require Obedience
‘ to them from all his Subjects.

‘ And his Majesty once more recommends to his
‘ Parliament, the Substance of his Message of the
‘ 20th of *January* last ; That they compose and di-
‘ gest with all speed such Acts, as they shall think
‘ fit for the present, and future Establishment of
‘ their Privileges ; the free and quiet enjoying of
‘ their Estates and Fortunes, the Liberties of their
‘ Persons, the Security of the true Religion now
‘ professed in the Church of *England* ; the main-
‘ taining his Majesty's Regal and just Authority,
‘ and settling his Revenue ; his Majesty being de-
‘ sirsous to take all fitting and just ways, which
‘ may beget a happy Understanding between him
‘ and his Parliament, in which he conceives his
‘ greatest Power and Riches doth consist.’

*Neal, Ibid. Those that remain'd in the House were
about 300, besides 50 that were employ'd in the
Country, and about 50 more that were absent with
leave ; the rest went over to the King, and were some
time after expell'd the House.*

Lord *Clarendon* has answer'd this, Vol. I. p. 463.
and in another place informs us, * ‘ That there
‘ was so great a Resort of the Nobility and Gentry
‘ to the King at *York*, that there was not left a
‘ fifth Part of the House of *Peers* at *Westminster* ;
‘ and that he truly believ'd that there was near a
‘ Moiety of the House of *Commons* that continued
‘ there.’

*Neal, p. 556. Upon his Majesty's return to York,
he commanded the Committee of Parliament, that were
Spies upon his Actions, to retire to London ; but they
excus'd themselves, as being order'd to continue, by those
that employ'd them.*

* *Clarendon's History, Vol. I. p. 502.*

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* ' Their Declaration or Message, in which they made a farther Demand of the *Militia*, was sent to the King by a select Committee, the Lord *Howard of Efrogg*, the Lord *Fairfax*, and Sir *Hugh Cholmley*, who were to reside at *York*, and be Spies upon his Actions. His Majesty was so sensible of their Design, by their Temper and Behaviour, that he told them, *He liked not such Superiours near him, who ought to be very careful of their Carriage, since then the Country was visibly well affected; and if he found any Declension, he knew whom to impute it to, and should be forced to use them in another manner, than, with reference to their Persons, he should be willing to do.* They answer'd with a sullen Confidence, *That they should carry themselves according to their Instructions, and the Trust reposed in them by the two Houses of Parliament.* Yet notwithstanding their Designs were so evident, the King's Condition was so low, that he durst not commit them to Prison, or expel them the Town, or so much as inhibit them the Freedom of his Court and Presence; and so they continued above a Month in *York*, in perfect defiance of the King.'

Neal, p. 557. *A Regiment of Horse was raised in Defence of his Majesty's Person, and the Command given to the Prince of Wales. This was the first Levy of Troops in the Civil Wars.*

Echard observes, † ' That this was voted as an Intention of the King to make War against the Parliament: || Tho' the Parliament, the 10th of May, put the Militia Ordinance in execution in London.'

Neal, Ibid. *Things being come to this Crisis, the Parliament voted May 20. That it was now appa-*

* Echard's History, Vol. II. p. 311.

† Vol. II. p. 313.

|| Ib. p. 312.

rent, that the King, seduced by wicked Counsel, intended to make War upon the Parliament.

It is much more apparent from the History of those Times, that that *Fag End* of a *Parliament*, *seduced by wicked Counsel*, put the King upon a necessary Defence of himself. * ' It may seem strange, ' and even prodigious, that these People should ' ever hope to obtrude such a Vote upon the Nation, That the King design'd a War against them; ' when, as the Lord *Clarendon* tells us, they were ' so far from fearing he should raise an Army, that ' they were most assured, he had neither Ship, ' Harbour, Arms nor Money, nor was able to ' get Bread to support himself for three Months, ' without submitting to their Conduct and Controul. † And tho' they did not believe that the ' King would be able to raise any Force against ' them, yet they were inwardly enraged to find he ' liv'd more like himself than they desired; and ' that from the desertion of his own Servants, he ' was now attended by the chief Gentlemen of all ' Counties; which imply'd a Dislike, if not a Contempt of their Carriage towards him. Therefore ' to prevent this dangerous Obedience to him, they ' appointed their Serjeant to apprehend some Persons who had resorted to *York*, and bring them as ' Delinquents before the Houses.'

Neal, p. 558. *The Parliament in their Memorial avow, in the presence of the All-seeing Deity, that the Sincerity of their Endeavours have been only directed to the King's Honour, and the Publick Peace, free from all Private Aims, Personal Respects and Passions whatsoever.*

This Gentleman must have a more than common Attachment to the prevailing Principles of those Times, to believe their Memorial, notwithstanding

* *Ib.* p. 313.

† *Echard*, Vol. II. p. 314.

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ing *Their avowing, in the presence of the All-seeing Deity, the Sincerity of their Endeavours, &c.* For 'tis very apparent, that the Intention of a great Number of them, of their Leaders especially, was to alter the Form of Government then establish'd, both in Church and State, as their subsequent Actions fully prov'd.

The Lord *Clarendon's* Observation upon this Declaration, or Memorial, is this: * ' That it wrought more upon the Minds of Men, than all they had done; for the Business of *Hull* was by very many thought to be done before projected; and the Argument of the *Militia*, to be enter'd upon at first in Passion, and afterwards pursued with that Vehemence, insensibly by being engaged; and that both Extravagances had so much weigh'd down the King's Trespases in coming to the House, and accusing the Members, that a reasonable Agreement would the sooner have been consented to on all hands. But when by this Declaration they saw Foundations laid, upon which, not only what had been already done, would be well justified; but whatsoever, hereafter, they should find convenient to second what was already done; and that not only the King, but the Regal Power was either suppressed, or deposited in other hands; the Irregularity and Monstrousness of which Principles found little Opposition or Resistance, even for the Irregularity and Monstrousness: Very many thought it as unsafe to be present at those Consultations, as to consent to the Conclusions; and so great Numbers of the Members of both Houses absented themselves; and many, especially of the House of Peers, resorted to his Majesty at *York*. So that in the Debates of the highest consequence, there was not present in the

* History of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 463.

' House of Commons, the fifth Part of their just
 ' Numbers; and very often not above a Dozen or
 ' Thirteen in the House of Peers. In the mean time,
 ' the King had a full Court, and receiv'd all Co-
 ' mers with great Clemency and Grace; calling
 ' always all the Peers to Council, and communica-
 ' ting with them all such Declarations as he
 ' thought fit to publish, in answer to those of the
 ' Parliament; and all Messages, and whatever else
 ' was necessary to be done for the Improvement of
 ' his Condition. And having now the Great Seal
 ' with him, issued such Proclamations, as were sea-
 ' sonable for the Preservation of the Peace of the
 ' Kingdom.'

* The Positions of the Contrivers of this De-
 ' claration (says Lord *Clarendon*) are these: 1.
 ' That they have an absolute Power of declaring
 ' the Law, and that whatsoever they declare to be
 ' so, ought not to be questioned by his Majesty, or
 ' any Subject. 2. That no Precedents can be Li-
 ' mits to bound their Proceedings, so they may do
 ' what they please. 3. That the Parliament may
 ' dispose of any thing, wherein the King or Sub-
 ' ject hath a Right, for the Publick Good; that
 ' they, without the King, are this Parliament, and
 ' Judges of the Publick Good; and that his Ma-
 ' jesty's Consent is not necessary: So the Life
 ' and Liberty of the Subject, and all the good
 ' Laws made for the Security of them, may be
 ' dispos'd of, and repeal'd by the major Part of
 ' both Houses at any time present, and by any
 ' ways and means procured so to be: and his Ma-
 ' jesty had no Power to protect them. 4. That no
 ' Member of either House ought to be troubled or
 ' medled with for Treason, Felony, or any other
 ' Crime, without the Cause first brought before
 ' them, that they may judge of the Fact, and their

* Vol. I. p. 490.

' leave

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‘ leave obtain’d to proceed. 5. That the Sovereign Power resides in both Houses of Parliament, and that his Majesty has no Negative Voice: So then his Majesty himself must be subject to their Commands. 6. That the levying of Forces against the Personal Commands of the King, tho’ accompanied with his Presence, is not levying War against the King: And that Treason cannot be committed against his Person, otherwise than as he is entrusted with the Kingdom, and discharging that Trust; and that they have a Power to judge, whether he discharge that Trust or no. 7. That if they should make the highest Precedents of other Parliaments their Patterns, there would be no Cause to complain of want of Modesty and Duty in them; that is, they may *depose* his Majesty when they will, and are not to be blamed for so doing.’

These Positions of this darling Parliament, are most certainly worthy of Mr. *Neal*’s Defence. A Person as willing, (I believe) to defend them, as any one whatsoever.

Neal, p. 560. *He* [viz. the King, in his Answer to the Memorial] *neither affirms, nor denies the design of bringing the Army to London, but quibbles with the words Design and Resolution, (as Rapin observes) King Charles the First being very skilful in such sort of Ambiguities.*

I am really difficulted to guess, whether Mr. *Neal*, or *Rapin*, discovers the most of a Republican Spirit. The King, in his Declaration to all his loving Subjects, *August* 12, 1642. has fully answer’d this Objection; where he calls it * a strange *Plot* indeed, ‘ Which considering (says he) the Constitution of that Time, no Man can believe us guilty of; and tho’ they made great use of it, to the

* *Husbands’s Exact Collections*, p. 523.

‘ filling the Minds of our People with Fears and
 ‘ Apprehensions, they seem’d not then to charge
 ‘ us with any knowledge or privity to it ; what
 ‘ they have done since, all the World knows,
 ‘ notwithstanding our many Protestations in that
 ‘ Point. And we cannot but say, that by those
 ‘ Examinations of Colonel *Goring*, Sir *Jacob Ast-
 ‘ ley*, and Sir *John Conyers*, and Mr. *Percie’s* Let-
 ‘ ter, which is all the Evidence we have seen, and
 ‘ by which they seem principally to be guided ;
 ‘ we cannot satisfy our own private Conscience,
 ‘ that there was ever a Resolution of bringing up
 ‘ the Army to *London*.’ Then follows the King’s
 Account of it.

And the Reader, by comparing Mr. *Neal* with
Rushworth, may easily judge, what an unfair Ab-
 stract he has given of the King’s Answer to the
 Parliament’s Memorial. The King’s Words, to
 which he refers, are as follow : * ‘ I wish that the
 ‘ Contriver of that Declaration could, with as good
 ‘ a Conscience, call God to witness, that all his
 ‘ Counsels and Endeavours have been free from all
 ‘ Private Aims, Personal Respects, and Passion
 ‘ whatsoever, as we have done, and do ; that we have
 ‘ never had, or knew of any such Resolution of
 ‘ bringing up the Army to *London*.’ This is far
 from quibbling, as he suggests.

And the King, in his Declaration to the two
 Houses of Parliament, in answer to that presented
 to him at *Newmarket*, the 9th of *March* 1641,
 has the following Words : † ‘ For the manifold
 ‘ Attempts to provoke our late Army, and the
 ‘ Army of the *Scots*, and to raise a Faction in the
 ‘ City of *London*, and other Parts of the King-
 ‘ dom ; if it be said, as relating to us, we cannot,
 ‘ without great Indignation, suffer ourself to be

* *Rushworth*, Vol. IV. p. 709.

† *Husbands’s Exact Collections*, p. 107.

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‘ reproached, to have intended the least Force or
 ‘ Threatning to our Parliament, as the being pri-
 ‘ vy to the *bringing up of the Army* would imply :
 ‘ whereas we call God to witness, we never had any
 ‘ such Thought, or knew of any such Resolution
 ‘ concerning our late Army. * For the bringing up
 ‘ the Army to *London*, as we have heretofore (by
 ‘ no other Direction than the † Testimony of a good
 ‘ Conscience) call’d God to witness, we never had
 ‘ or knew any such Resolution ; so that upon the
 ‘ view of the Depositions now publish’d with that
 ‘ Declaration, it is not evident to us, there was ever
 ‘ any such Design ; unless every loose Discourse, or
 ‘ Argument, be Argument enough of such a De-
 ‘ sign : and it is apparent, that what was said of
 ‘ it, was near three Months before the Discovery
 ‘ to both Houses of Parliament ; so that if there
 ‘ were any Danger threatned that way, it vanish’d
 ‘ without any Resistance, or Prevention by the
 ‘ Wisdom, Power and Authority of them.’

*Neal, p. 561. He denies his knowledge of any evil
 Counsellors about him, and declares, that he did not
 willingly leave his Parliament, but was driven away
 by the Tumults at Whitehall ; and adds, that by the
 Help of God, and the Laws of the Land, he would
 have Justice for those Tumults.*

The King’s Words : || ‘ As often as we have
 ‘ occasion to mention our Return, and Residence
 ‘ near *London*, we shall complain of the barbarous

* *Rushworth*, Vol. IV. p. 704.

† *Bishop Williams*, in his Speech in Defence of the Bishops
 Right to sit, and vote in Parliament, has the following Words :
 ‘ I have had occasion of late to know, that our Sovereign
 ‘ (whom God bless and preserve) is, I will not say, above other
 ‘ Princes, but above all *Christian Men*, that ever I knew or heard
 ‘ of, a Man of most upright, dainty, and scrupulous Conscience,
 ‘ and afraid to look upon some Actions, which other Princes
 ‘ abroad, do usually swallow up and devour.’ *An Apology for
 Bishops Votes in Parliament*, p. 88.

|| *Rushworth*, p. 710.

‘ and

‘ and seditious Tumults in *Westminster* and *White-hall*, which indeed are so full of Scandal to our Government, and Danger to our Person, that we shall never think of returning thither, till we have Justice for what is past, and Security for the Time to come.’

Neal, Ibid. Nor does his Majesty own the promoting or retaining in his Service, any that are disaffected to the Laws of the Kingdom; but he will not take a Vote of Parliament for his Guide, till 'tis evident they are without Passion or Affection.

* ‘ If, says the King, we shelter and protect any such, let our Injustice be publish'd to the World: But till that be done particularly and manifestly, (*For we shall never conclude any Man upon a bare general Vote of the major Part of either, or both Houses, till it be evident that the major Part be without Passion or Affection;*) We must look upon the Charge this Declaration puts on us, of cherishing a disaffected Party against them, as a heavier and unjust Tax upon our Justice and Honour, than any we have or can lay upon the Framers of that Declaration.’

Neal, Ibid. His Majesty concludes with a severe Remark upon the Parliament, calling the Petitions presented to him mutinous. “ Hath a multitude of “ mean inconsiderable People, about the City of London, had liberty to petition against the † Govern-

* *Rushworth, Vol. IV. p. 708.*

† Bithop Kennet informs us, ‘ That Octob. 6. 1647. a Petition was presented to both Houses, that able and gifted Men might have liberty to preach *without Ordination, being approved by the Parliament.* For which the *House of Commons* thank'd them, for their good Affection to the Kingdom; assuring them, that their Petition was refer'd to a Committee, to consider of a way for examining such as should be allow'd. Thus (says he) the Care of Religion was transform'd from a Convocation to a New Assembly of Divines, from them to the House of Commons, from thence to the Mob.’ *Compleat History, Vol. III. p. 160.*

“ *ment*

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“ment of the Church, against the Book of Common-
“prayer, &c. [against the Freedom of Parliament]
“and been thank'd for it? And shall it be call'd Mu-
“tiny in the gravest and best Citizens in London,
“and Gentry [and Commonalty] in Kent, to frame
“Petitions to be govern'd by the known Laws of the
“Land, and not by Votes of Parliament? Is not
“this evidently the Work of a Faction?”

The following Words, omitted by Mr. Neal.
[“ Within or without both Houses, who deceive the
“ Trust repos'd in them, and have now told us
“ what Mutiny is? To stir up Men to a Care of
“ preserving our Prerogative, maintaining the Dis-
“ cipline of the Church, upholding and continuing
“ the Reverence and Solemnity of God's Service,
“ encouraging of Learning, is Mutiny. *Russhworth*,
“ p. 713.”] *Let Heaven and Earth, God and Man*
judge between us and these Men. [“ And however
“ such Petitions are there call'd *mutinous*, and the
“ Petitioners threatned, discountenanced, censured
“ and imprisoned; if they bring such lawful Peti-
“ tions to us, we will graciously receive them, and
“ defend them and their Rights, against what Pow-
“ er soever, with the uttermost hazard of our Be-
“ ing.” Omitted.]

* The Conclusion; “ We have been the longer
“ (to our very great pain) in this Answer, that we
“ might give the World satisfaction, even in the most
“ trivial particulars, that have been objected against
“ us; and that we may not again be reproach'd by
“ any more prudent Omissions. If we have been
“ compell'd to sharper Language than we affect;
“ let it be consider'd, how vile, how insufferable
“ our Provocations have been; and except to repel
“ Force, be to assault; and to give punctual and ne-
“ cessary Answers to rough and insolent Damands,

* *Russhworth*, Vol. IV. p. 713.

' be to make Invectives ; we are confident the
 ' World will accuse us of too much Mildness, and
 ' all our good Subjects will think that we are not
 ' well dealt with, and will judge of us, and of their
 ' own Happiness and Security in us, by our
 ' Actions ; which we desire may no longer prosper,
 ' or have a Blessing from God upon them and us,
 ' than they shall be directed to the Glory of God,
 ' in the Maintenance of the true *Protestant* Protec-
 ' tion, to the Preservation of the Property and the
 ' Liberty of the Subject, in the Observation of the
 ' Laws, and to the Maintenance of the Rights and
 ' Freedom of Parliament, in the Allowance and
 ' Protection of all their just Privileges.'

Neal, p. 562. On the 2d of June, the Parliament presented the King with the Sum of all their Desires, for the Reformation and Security of Church and State, in Nineteen Propositions, according to his Majesty's Commands in January last.

And these were very remarkable ones ; and shew plainly that nothing less than the lodging the *Sovereign Power* in their hands, would satisfy them.
 ' By the third, they insist, that all the great Offices in the Kingdom shall be dispos'd of by the
 ' two Houses ; by the 19th, they desire, that his
 ' Majesty would be graciously pleas'd to pass a
 ' Bill for the restraining of *Peers* made hereafter,
 ' from sitting and voting in Parliament, unless they
 ' be admitted thereunto, by the consent of the
 ' two Houses of Parliament.'

Neal, Ibid. 'Tis hard to express his Majesty's Resentment against all these Propositions, (except the two last) which he says, were fit only to be offer'd to a vanquish'd Prisoner ; that he were unworthy of his noble Descent, if he should part with such Flowers of his Crown, as were worth all the rest of the Garland.

His Majesty's Words, (which generally have the misfortune to be curtail'd by Mr. Neal, so unworthy

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worthy is King *Charles* of any civil Usage from him,) are as follow:

* ' The Demands being such, that he were unworthy of the Trust repos'd in him by the Law, and of his Descent from so many great and famous Ancestors, if he could be brought to abandon those Powers, which alone could enable him to perform what he was sworn to, in protecting his People and the Laws; and so assume others into it, as to divest himself of it, altho' his present Condition were more necessitous than it was, (which it hardly could be) and he were both vanquished and a Prisoner, and in worse Condition, than ever the most unfortunate of his Predecessors had been reduced to, by the most criminal of their Subjects; and tho' the Bait laid to draw him to it, and to keep his Subjects from Indignation at the mention of it, the Promises of a plentiful and unparallel'd Revenue, were reduced from Generals, (which signify nothing) to clear and certain Particulars, since such a Bargain would have but too great Resemblance of that of *Esau's*; if he would part with such Flowers of his Crown, as were worth all the rest of his Garland, and had been transmitted to him from so many Ancestors, and had been found so useful and necessary for the Welfare and Security of his Subjects, for any present Necessity, or for any low or sordid Considerations of Wealth or Gain. And therefore, all Men knowing, that those Accommodations are most easily made, and most exactly observ'd, that are grounded upon reasonable and equal Conditions; his Majesty had great cause to believe, that the Contrivers of these Propositions, had no Intention of settling any firm Accommodation; but to increase the Jealousies, and widen that Di-

‘ vision, which, not by his Majesty’s Fault, was
 ‘ now unhappily fallen between him and the two
 ‘ Houses.’

*Neal, p. 564. To these Propositions his Majesty
 reply’d: To the Sixth, concerning Popish Recusants,
 his Majesty admitted, That if they could find any
 more effectual Course to disable them, from disturbing
 the State, or eluding the Laws, by Trusts or other-
 wise, he ought to give his Consent to it.*

The King’s Words : * ‘ For the Sixth Demand
 ‘ concerning the Laws against Jesuits, Priests, and
 ‘ Popish Recusants; we have by many of our Mes-
 ‘ sages to you, by our voluntary Promise to you
 ‘ solemnly made, never to pardon any Popish
 ‘ Priest; by our strict Proclamation lately pub-
 ‘ lish’d in this point, and by the publick Exam-
 ‘ ples we have made in that Case, since our Resi-
 ‘ dence at York, and before at London, sufficient-
 ‘ ly expressed our Zeal therein: Why then do you
 ‘ ask that, in which our own Inclination hath prevent-
 ‘ ed you? And if you can find yet, any more effect-
 ‘ al Course to disable them from disturbing the
 ‘ State or eluding the Law, by Trusts or other-
 ‘ wise, we shall willingly give our Consent.’

*Neal, Ibid. To the Seventh, concerning the Votes
 of Popish Lords, his Majesty reply’d, That he was
 inform’d those Lords had prudently withdrawn from
 the House of Peers; [‘ and had so, when use was
 ‘ publickly made of their Names to asperse the
 ‘ Votes of that House, which was then counted as
 ‘ malignant, as those who are call’d our unknown
 ‘ and unsworn Counsellors are now.’ Omitted by
 Mr. Neal.]*

The King concludes his Answer, to the 19 Pro-
 positions, in the following manner:

* *Rushworth, Vol. IV. p. 733.*

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* ' To conlude, We conjure you and all Men,
' to rest satisfied with the Truth of our Professions,
' and the Reality of our Intentions, not to ask such
' things as deny themselves; that you declare a-
' gainst Tumults, and punish the Authors; that
' you allow us our Propriety in our Towns,
' Arms and Goods, and our Share in the *Legislative*
' *Power*; which would be accounted in us not only
' *Breach of Privilege*, but Tyranny and Subversion
' of Parliaments, to deny to you. And when you
' shall have given us Satisfaction upon those Persons,
' who have taken away the one, and recall'd those
' Declarations, (particularly that of the 26th of
' *May*) and those in the point of the Militia, (our
' just Rights wherein, we will no more part with
' than with our Crown, lest we enable others by
' them to take that from us) which would take a-
' way the other; and declined the beginnings of a
' War against us, under pretence of our Intention
' of making one against you; as we have never op-
' posed the first Part of the 13th Demand, so we
' shall be ready to concur with you in the latter.

' And being then confident, that the Credit of those
' Men who desire a general Combustion, will be so
' weaken'd with you, that they will not be able to
' do this Kingdom any more harm; we shall be
' willing to grant our general Pardon, with such
' Exceptions as shall be thought fit, and shall re-
' ceive much more Joy in the hope of a full and
' constant Happines of our People, in the true
' Religion, and under the Protection of the Law,
' by a blessed Union between us and our Parlia-
' ment, (so much desir'd by us) than any such
' Increase of our Revenues (how much soever be-
' yond former Grants) as (when our Subjects were

* *Rushworth's Collections*, Vol. IV. p. 735. *Lord Clarendon*, Vol. I. p. 502.

' wealthier)

‘wealthier) our Parliament could have settled upon us.’

Neal, p. 566. *It was now apparent to all Men, that this Controversy, which had hitherto been debated by the Pen, must be decided by the Sword; for this purpose the Queen was all this while in Holland, negotiating Foreign Supplies.*

The Parliament had given sufficient Provocation for so doing: The Queen, at her first going into *Holland*, prevail'd upon the Prince of *Orange*, and the States of *Holland*, to issue out a Proclamation, to command the Absence of *Delinquents* from her Majesty's Court, in the following Words:

* ‘Whereas we have connected and knit ourselves in the Bounds of Amity, and a most filial and reciprocal Friendship, with our most Royal Father the King of *England*, and his most Honourable Parliament, now conjoin'd for removal of Grievances in the said Kingdom; we are bound in all due Respect, and more especially by the mutual Duty I owe his most Sacred Majesty, not to harbour or detain any Enemies to that State, or his Royal Person in this Kingdom; whereas, therefore, there are certain pernicious and ill-meaning Persons here found with us, who have been, and still are Delinquents to the said Houses of Parliament; who have boldly undertaken to intercede by petition to her Majesty, to be entertain'd into her Majesty's Service at her Court, now holden at the *Hague*; it being contrary to the Respect she hath, and doth continually owe to his Majesty and that honourable Assembly; and also so far from her most real Intentions, as she has requested us to shew thus much by Proclamation

* An Ordinance or Proclamation by the Prince of *Orange*, and States of *Holland*, in her Majesty's Behalf and at her Request, &c. *London*, 1641. *Penes me.*

‘and

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and Ordinance unto them, as shall be contain'd in these ensuing Particulars.

1. ' That her Majesty doth not, nor will not by any means accept, no nor so much as countenance their proffer'd Service towards her, until such time as they shall have satisfied the just and condign Censure of the Parliament, by clearing themselves of these Misdeameanors, whereof they are accused by that honourable Assembly.

2. ' That she hath not, nor cannot ascribe unto herself the Power of Acceptance of any one into her Majesty's Service, without his Majesty's leave, licence and condescend.

3. ' That for these Reasons above-named, to shew her due Obeisance to his Majesty, and Love to the Parliament, she commands that none of the Delinquents to the said Parliament, whatsoever, shall presume to intrude himself, within the Circuit of ten Miles of her Court.

' We therefore, out of the Love we bear unto that Illustrious King our Father, his Queen our Mother, and their famous Parliament, do ordain, That if any should transgress this her Majesty's Command, ratified by us, by their coming within the afore-mentioned Bounds; they be forthwith apprehended for breach of our Commands, contrary to our Proclamation, and sent into *England*, to receive such Censure as they have deserved.'

Given under our Hands at *Delph*, this seventh of *March* 1641.

But afterwards, when the Queen was under a necessity of applying to the Prince of *Orange*, for Assistance against his Rebel Subjects; Lord *Clarendon* informs us, * ' That she had many Difficulties to contend with; for tho' that Prince

* History of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 520.

' had a signal Affection for the King's Ser-
 ' vice, and did all he could to dispose the States
 ' to concern themselves in his Majesty's Quarrel;
 ' yet his Authority and Interest was much diminish'd,
 ' with the Vigour of his Body and Mind: And the
 ' States of *Holland* were so far from being inclin'd
 ' to the King, that they did him all the mischief
 ' they could. They had before assisted the Re-
 ' bellion in *Scotland*, with giving them Credit for
 ' Arms and Ammunition, before they had Money to
 ' buy any; and they did afterwards several ways dis-
 ' cover their Affections to the Parliament; which
 ' had so many Spies there, that the Queen could
 ' do nothing they had not present Notice of: so
 ' that it was no easy matter for the Queen to pro-
 ' vide Arms and Ammunition, but the Parliament
 ' had present Notice of it, and of the ways which
 ' were thought upon to transport them to the King.'

Neal, Ibid. *Her Majesty pledged the Crown Jewels.*

* ' By the Sale of her own, as well as the Crown
 ' Jewels, and by the Friendship of *Henry Prince of*
 ' *Orange*, she did all she could to provide what was
 ' necessary. And the King had newly directed her
 ' to send all to *Newcastle*, which was but then se-
 ' cur'd to him by the Earl of that Name. In the
 ' mean time, both the King himself, and they who
 ' best knew the State of his Affairs, seem'd
 ' to be without any thoughts of making War; and
 ' to hope that the Parliament would at last incline
 ' to some Accommodation; for which both his Ma-
 ' jesty, and those Persons were expos'd to a thou-
 ' sand Reproaches.'

Neal, Ibid. *And with the Money arising from
 thence, purchased a small Frigate of Thirty-two Guns,
 call'd the Providence, and freighted it with two hun-*

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dred Barrels of Powder, two or three thousand Arms, &c. for the King's Service; all which were safely convey'd to his Majesty at York, about the beginning of June.

* There was a small Ship (says Lord Clarendon) of twenty-eight or thirty Guns, that was part of the Fleet, that waited her Majesty over to Holland, from Dover, which was called the *Providence*, under the Command of Captain *Straughan*. That Ship, whose Captain was known to be faithful to his Majesty, was detained and kept in *Holland*, from the time of her Majesty's Arrival, under several Pretences, of which the Captain made use of, when he afterwards received Orders from the Earl of *Warwick*, to repair to the Fleet, &c.

Neal, p. 566. *The Parliament had been advertised of the Queen's Proceedings, and acquainted the King with their Advices, which at first he was pleased to disown: for in his Declaration of March 9, he tells the Parliament, "Whatsoever you are advertised from Paris, &c. of foreign Aids, we are confident no sober honest Man in our Kingdom can believe, that we are so desperate, or so senseless, as to entertain such Designs, as would not only bury this our Kingdom in certain Destruction and Ruin, but our Name and Posterity in perpetual Scorn and Infamy."*

Lord Clarendon observes, † ' That most Men wondered, that there appeared no Provisions to be made towards a War, which they saw would be inevitable; and when the Levies of Soldiers under the Earl of *Effex* were hastened with so much Vigour, that the King should have no other Preparations towards an Army, than a single Troop of Guards, made up of Gentlemen

* History of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 521.

† Vol. I. p. 520.

‘Volunteers, &c. And many do yet believe, that the King too long deferred his Recourse to Arms; and that if he had raised Forces upon his first Repulse at *Hull*, his Service would have been very much advanced, and that the Parliament would not have been able to have drawn an Army together. And so Men still reproach the Counsels that were then about the King, as they were censured by many at that time; but neither they then, nor these now, do understand the true Reasons thereof. The King had not at that time one Barrel of Powder, nor one Musquet, nor any other Provision necessary for an Army; and, which was worse, was not sure of any Port, to which they might be assigned; nor had he Money for the Support of his own Table, for the Term of one Month.’

Neal, *ibid.* But in this Answer, as in most others, his Majesty had his Ambiguities and Reservations.

This is Mr. *Neal* all over; the King, in his Opinion, was wrong in every Instance, and the Parliament in the right. The King, after they had forced him from his capital City, by spiriting up Mobs against him, after they had seized upon his Navy, Forts, and Militia, (which they own'd at first to be his undoubted Right) after they had actually begun to raise Forces under the Earl of *Essex*, should have sat still, or have tamely resigned up his Person and Crown, to have been disposed of at their Will and Pleasure; then 'tis probable he might have been in some small degree of Favour with Mr. *Neal*.

Neal, p. 567. The like Disappointment his Majesty met with before *Hull*, which he besieged a second time, July 4.

He issued a Proclamation of his Intention to besiege it, upon the 11th of July, so could not lay
siege

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siege to it upon the fourth. Nay, Lord Clarendon informs us, * ' That his Majesty having, by ' his Answer, obliged himself not to make any ' forcible Attempt upon it till the 27th of July, ' by which time he might reasonably expect an ' Answer to his Propositions, in the mean time ' resolved to make some short Progress in the ' neighbouring Counties.'

Neal, p. 568. *In the Archbishop's Palace at Lambeth, they seized Arms for about 500 Men.*

Some part of them, 'tis probable, they lodged there; the Archbishop was now in the Tower, and their own Creatures, 'tis likely, in possession of that Place.

Neal, *ibid.* *The King forbid the Militia's appearing in Arms, without his Consent, and issued out Commissions of Array, according to an old Statute; but the Parliament endeavoured to prove these Commissions illegal.*

This is modestly expressed by Mr. Neal; 'tis a wonder he did not tell us *point-blank*, that they actually proved them to be so.

His Majesty, in his Answer to the Declaration of Lords and Commons, 21 June, 1642. says, † ' We are beholden to them, that they have explained to all our good Subjects, the Meaning of ' their Charge against us, that, by our Intention ' of making War against our Parliament, no ' more is intended to be meant, than our Resolution not to submit to the high Injustice, or Indignity of the Ordinance, and the Business of ' Hull. We have never conceal'd our Intentions ' in either of those Particulars, (we wish they ' would deal as clearly with us) but have always, ' and do now declare, that the pretended Ordinance is against the Law of the Land, against

* Clarendon's History, Vol. I. p. 539.

† Rushworth, Vol. IV. p. 750.

the Liberty and Property of the Subject, destructive to Sovereignty, and therefore not consistent with the very Constitution and Essence of the Kingdom, and to the Rights and Privileges of Parliament; that we are bound by our Oath, (and all our Subjects are bound by theirs of Allegiance, and Supremacy, and their own Protestation lately taken, to assist us) to oppose that Ordinance, which is put already in execution against us, not only by training and arming our Subjects, but by forcibly removing the Magazines from the Places erected by the Countrys, to their own Houses, and guarding it there with armed Men; whither it will be next removed, and how used by such Persons, we know not. And since neither our Declaration, nor the Testimony of so many of our Lords now with us, can produce Credit with these Men, but that they proceed to levy Horse, and raise Money, and Arms against us, we are not to be blamed, if after so many gracious Expostulations with them, upon undeniable Principles of Law and Reason, which they answer only by voting that, which we say, to be neither Law nor Reason; and so proceed actually to levy War upon us, to justify that which cannot be otherwise defended; at last we make such Provision, that as we have been driven from *London*, and kept from *Hull*, we may not be surprized at *York*, but in a Condition to resist, and bring to Justice those Men, who would persuade our People, that their Religion is in danger, because we will not consent it shall be in their power to alter it by their Votes; or their Liberty in danger, because we will know no Judge of that Liberty, but the known Law of the Land. Yet whatsoever Provision we shall be compelled to make for our Security, we will be ready to lay down, as soon as they

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‘ they shall have revoked the Orders by which they
‘ have made Levies, and submit those Persons who
‘ have detained our Towns, carried away our Arms,
‘ and put the Militia in execution, contrary to our
‘ Proclamation, to that Trial of their Innocence
‘ the Law directs, and to which they were born.’

* Lord *Clarendon*’s Observation upon it is this;
‘ That now the War was denounced, by their ex-
‘ press Words, against his Majesty, as it had been
‘ long before in their Actions; and both Parties
‘ seemed to give over all Thoughts of further
‘ Treaties and Overtures, and each prepared to
‘ make themselves considerable, by the Strength
‘ and Power of such Forces as they could draw to-
‘ gether.’

Neal, p. 569. On the 10th of June, the Parlia-
ment published Proposals for borrowing Money upon
the publick Faith, at Eight per Cent. Interest, and
the full Value of the Plate, besides one Shilling per
Ounce Consideration for the Fashion.

And they voted, ‘ That all Persons as should
‘ not contribute to the Charge of the Common-
‘ wealth, in that time of imminent Necessity, should
‘ be disarmed and secured. And that this Vote
‘ might be the more terrible, they ordered the
‘ same Day the Mayor and Sheriffs of *London*, to
‘ search the Houses, and seize the Arms belonging
‘ to some Aldermen, and other principal substan-
‘ tial Citizens of *London*, whom they named in
‘ their Order: “ For that it appeared, by the
‘ Report of the Committee, that they had not
‘ contributed, as they ought, to the Charge of
‘ the Common-wealth.” By this means, (says
‘ Lord *Clarendon*) † the poorest and lowest of
‘ the People became Informers against the richest
‘ and most substantial; and the Result of search-

* History of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 542.

† *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 23.

' ing the Houses, and seizing the Arms, was tak-
 ' ing away Plate, and Things of the greatest Va-
 ' lue, and very frequently plundering what was
 ' worth the keeping. They farther appointed,
 ' that the Fines, Rents, &c. of Archbishops, Bi-
 ' shops, Deans, &c. and all Delinquents who had
 ' taken up Arms against the Parliament, or had
 ' been active in the Commission of Array, should
 ' be sequestred for the Use of the Common-wealth.
 ' And that the King might not fare better than his
 ' Adherents; they directed all his Revenue aris-
 ' ing out of the Rents, Fines in Courts of Justice,
 ' Composition for Wards, and the like, and all o-
 ' ther his Revenue should be brought into the fe-
 ' veral Courts, and other Places, where they ought
 ' to be paid in, and not issued forth, or paid forth,
 ' until farther Order should be taken by both
 ' Houses of Parliament, without so much as as-
 ' signing him any part of his own, towards the
 ' Support of his own Person. This stout Invasion
 ' of the People's Property, (says Lord * *Clarendon*)
 ' and compelling them to part with what was most
 ' precious to them, was thought by many an un-
 ' popular Act, in the Morning of their *Sovereignty*,
 ' and that it would wonderfully have irreconciled
 ' their *new Subjects* to them. But the Conductors
 ' well understood, that their Empire already de-
 ' pended more on the Fear, than the Love of the
 ' People; and that as they could carry on the War,
 ' only by having Money enough to pay the Sol-
 ' diers, so that whilst they had that, they should
 ' not probably want Men to recruit their Army
 ' upon any Misadventure. It cannot be imagined
 ' what great Advantages the King received by the
 ' Parliament's rejecting the King's Messages for
 ' Peace, and the manner of doing it: all Mens
 ' mouths were opened against them; the Messages

* History of the Rebellion, Vol. II. p. 24.

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and Answers, being read in all Churches, they who could not serve him in their Persons, contrived how to supply him with Money. Some eminent Governors in the Universities gave him notice, that all the Colleges were well supplied with Plate, which would amount to a good Value, and lay useles in their Treasuries, there being enough beside for their common Use; and that there was not the least Doubt, that whensoever his Majesty should think fit to require that Treasure, it would be sent him. The Messengers that were sent brought all the Plate, and a considerable Sum of Money, which was sent a Present to his Majesty, from several Heads of Colleges, out of their particular Stores.'

There is a remarkable Order, for the raising of Money, by the famed Committee at *Goldsmiths-Hall*, mentioned in a Tract, entitled, *Regicides no Saints, nor Martyrs*, [p. 34.] in the following Words: 'These are to give you notice, by virtue of an Ordinance of the 27th of *October* last, you are assessed to lend the Sum of Fifty Pounds of lawful *English* Money, to be paid for our Brethren of *Scotland*, for their assisting of us in this War; and that you are forthwith to pay the same to Mr. *Waring*, and Mr. *Herring*, Treasurers at *Goldsmiths-Hall*, according to the said Ordinance; and that if you shall fail to pay the same within eight Days after the Date of this Ticket, you shall forfeit for every Day after the eight Days the Twentieth part of the Sum so sels'd, and shall likewise pay Two Shillings in every Pound, over and above, to the Collectors that are appointed to levy the same, if you shall suffer yourself to be distrain'd. Dated this 7th of *May*, 1644.'

John Pratt, Clerk to the Committee.

To Mr. *John Sadler*, of the Parish
of *Stephen Wallbrook*.

This

This is the Cause, and these the Times, of which our learned *Advocate* undertakes the Defence.

Neal, p. 570. *The Parliament, provoked with this Behaviour of the University, threatened to quarter some of their own Regiments upon them; which frightened away half the Scholars, and put the rest into such a terrible Pannick, that the Vice-Chancellor thought proper to write the following submissive Letter to the Earl of Pembroke, their Chancellor.*

And this Letter is, according to Mr. Neal's common Practice, miserably mangled and curtail'd, as may appear, by comparing it with *Rushworth*.

Neal, p. 573. *This Letter being writ two Months after the University had sent away their Plate and Money to the King; after they had refused to send up such Managers of that Affair as the Parliament had demanded, after they had took up Arms, and received a Regiment of his Majesty's Forces into Garrison, the Earl of Pembroke only return'd the following angry Answer.*

It was an Answer well becoming such a Chancellor; for 'this very Earl, at the Treaty of *Uxbridge*, according to his usual Language, (says * *Echard*) freely called the Parliament Leaders, a Pack of *Knaves* and *Villains*, and acknowledged his notorious Mismanagement to Sir *Edward Hyde*; and join'd with others, in a *Romantic Proposal*, That the King should grant all that was demanded of him, and by those Concessions dis-appoint his Enemies, recover all, and become a greater Monarch than ever.' † This Earl got Possession of *Durham-House*, and had it secured to him, by an Ordinance of the two Houses. Nay, this famous *Earl*, 'the House of Lords being dissolved and abolished, humbly submitted to be chosen

* *Echard*, Vol. II. p. 520.

† *Scobel's Collections*, p. 101.

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‘ Knight of the Shire for *Berks*, and was admitted
‘ an inglorious Member of the House of Com-
‘ mons.” [Kennet, Vol. III. p. 176.]

Neal, p. 575. Cromwell having missed the Con-
voy, (viz. of the Plate sent to the King from *Cam-*
bridge) returned to Cambridge, and took possession of
the Town and University for the Parliament.

When he speaks of the King’s Enemies, how
tenderly does he express himself? Cromwell took
possession of the Town and University for the Parlia-
ment. Dr. Barwick’s Account, whose Authority
he had just before quoted, is this: * ‘ Cromwell,
‘ inferior to none in watching, and employing all
‘ Opportunities to ruin his Country, when he per-
‘ ceived himself over-reach’d by the Sagacity of the
‘ Cambridge Gentlemen, began to be extremely
‘ exasperated and enraged, and resolved to make
‘ the University pay dearly, for daring to perform
‘ this Duty to their distressed Sovereign: for out
‘ of the seven associated Counties, (as they were
‘ called) which partly by Fraud and fair Words
‘ he had enticed, and partly by Terror and Force
‘ he had compelled into this wicked Confederacy,
‘ he mustered up a Pack of most insolent Wretches,
‘ and quartered them upon Cambridge, as their
‘ chief Garrison and Rendezvous; subjugating to
‘ the Controul of every pitiful common Soldier,
‘ all the best, and most learned Men in the Univer-
‘ sity; even those venerable Persons already sink-
‘ ing beneath the Weight of their many Years,
‘ as much as under the Oppression of this new
‘ Tyranny. Being thus attended with a Company
‘ of hair-brain’d, mad Fellows, not unworthy of
‘ their Leader, he commits the utmost Barbarities
‘ against the several Colleges, breaks open their
‘ Gates in the dead time of the Night, and lets in
‘ Bands of armed Ruffians, prepared to murder

* Dr. Barwick’s Life, p. 29.

' the whole Society at one Blow, upon the least
 ' Signal that should be given them by their mad
 ' Commander: they take possession as they please
 ' of every private Chamber; they pull down the
 ' Walls, and burn all the Woodwork of the Li-
 ' braries, and making Plunder of the Books, sell
 ' them for a Tenth part of their Value. The
 ' Groves, and Arbours, and Hedges in the publick
 ' College-Walks, they cut down like so many
 ' Copfes designed for no other Use; and securing,
 ' with Guards and broken Gates, all the Passages
 ' out of Town, they shut up within it, as in a large
 ' Prison, all the Members of the University, ex-
 ' cept those (not a few) whom they more closely
 ' confined in Dungeons, lest they should have any
 ' Benefit of the open Air, infected, as it was but
 ' too much, with the Stench and Vermine of so
 ' many nasty Soldiers. All the Heads of the
 ' Houses, together with the Vice-Chancellor, so-
 ' lemnly assembled in Consistory, they detain'd their
 ' Prisoners till midnight, tho' most of them above
 ' sixty Years of Age, and that in very cold Weather;
 ' because they would not give their Votes in their fa-
 ' vour, but most expressly and unanimously voted a-
 ' gainst them, resolv'd rather to perish with Hunger
 ' and Cold, than give the least Countenance to their
 ' Rebellion: and at last, as it were with one Blow
 ' to destroy the whole University, they banish
 ' from its Senate, and from their several Colleges,
 ' the venerable Professors of Divinity and Law,
 ' famous for their Learning over all the World,
 ' together with the Vice-Chancellor, and about
 ' Two hundred more of their most considerable
 ' and learned Men, and put *Blockheads* for the
 ' most part, and *senseless Scoundrels*, in their pla-
 ' ces. They likewise turn out of the Universities,
 ' many other extraordinary Persons of the same
 ' Order, whom their cruel Usage of them had not
 ' been

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“ been able, as they vainly hoped, to frighten from
“ their Duty to God and the King; and that, after
“ they had plundered them of every thing, except
“ their good Conscience.” And all this is modestly
termed, a *taking possession of the Town and University,*
for the Parliament.

Neal, p. 576. *The Houses therefore ordered Dr. Beal, Dr. Martin, and Dr. Sterne, Masters of St. John's, Jesus, and Queen's-College, into Custody; upon which, many of the Scholars deserted their Stations, and listd into the King's Service.*

* These Heads of Houses, Dr. Fuller informs us, were imprisoned in the Tower, for their Activity in the Plate Business. And by others † 'tis said, that they were kept close confined in the Tower, and in other Prisons, some Years, particularly in the noisome Hold of a Ship.

Neal, *ibid.* *Though his Majesty had but few Roman Catholicks among his own Forces, the Duke of Newcastle's Army was filled with them; and Popery was countenanced to that degree at York, that Mass was said in every Street, and the Protestants so affronted, that they were almost afraid to go to Church.*

As he quotes no Authority for the Proof of these Particulars, I am willing to believe, that they are not all of them true.

The King issued out a Proclamation the 10th Day of *August*, 1642. the Title as follows; ‡ “ By
“ the King, A Proclamation declaring his Majesty's
“ expresse Command, That no *Popish Recusant*, nor any other who shall refuse to take
“ the two Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy,
“ shall serve him in his Army: and, That the Soldiers
“ commit no Rapines upon the People, but
“ be fitly provided of Necessaries for their Money.”

* Fuller's History of Cambridge, p. 168.

† Querel. Cantabrig. p. 5, 6. Barwick's Life, p. 32.

‡ Husbands's exact Collections, 4to. p. 510.

But

But granting, that after this, his Majesty did admit *Papists* into his Army; if Mr. Neal does not know the Reason of it, he may learn it from

* Lord *Castlemain*, who (tho' a *Roman Catholick*) was undoubtedly a Man of Honour and Probity, and whose Authority, I believe, will not be called in question. He informs us, ' That Sir *Arthur Aston*, a *Catholick* of Quality and Experience, offered our late Sovereign his Service, and the Service of many more, upon the first Preparations of War. The good Prince sincerely gave him Thanks, but told him, that by reason of their Religion, he durst not admit them into the Army; for the Rebels (who never omitted a Pretence) would make use of this, to discredit him among the People. This Knight being refused thus, rode in all haste to *London*, and made the like Tender to *Essex*. The Earl, upon the Proposal, consults the *Cabal*, who presently advised him to accept the Offer; and so a formal Commission was given Sir *Arthur*. He immediately posted back to the Court, and there shewed the Commission to his Majesty; which when he saw, and together with it the Intrigue of these Juglers, he not only gave Sir *Arthur* a Commission, but from that time declared all *Catholicks* welcome; who thereupon, from every Quarter, hastned to his Help and Succour.

' The Designs which the Rebels had herein, were many; for by this they not only hoped to get themselves a Party well versed in War, great in Blood, and of Estates answerable to that Blood; but also were sure the same Instant to weaken as much the King as they brought Strength to themselves; and besides, they farther considered, that this might add a Gloss to their Proceedings

* Preface to the Reply to the Answer of the *Catholique Apology*. Printed 1668. p. 16.

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‘ abroad, because all neighbouring Princes (being
‘ *Catholiques*) would then look on their Actions
‘ with a more partial Eye. Scripture also, which
‘ is the Stalking-Horse of all Sects, could not be
‘ wanting to them, who had already, with a *Curse*
‘ *ye Meroz*, invited all to Rebellion. That very
‘ Example might have been a Warrant, that the
‘ *Godly* and *Prophane* may join in a Confederation;
‘ at least ’twas evident, that the Children of *Israel*,
‘ who went to fight the Battles of the Lord, used
‘ *Rabab*’s Assistance, a Harlot of *Jericho*; for
‘ which Service, they shewed favour to all her
‘ Father’s House. And why then might not the
‘ *Elect* (when the Cause required it) receive Aid
‘ from us, tho’ *Children of the Whore of Babylon*?
‘ Doubtless in Conscience, this Advantage could not
‘ have been omitted by the *Saints*, since it might
‘ have been a Means towards our Conversion, as
‘ *Cromwell* afterwards urged, when he so passio-
‘ nately stickled to bring in the *Jews*.’

But the King’s Speech, and Protestation made at the head of his Army, between *Stafford* and *Wellington*, the 19th of *September*, 1642. mentioned by several of our Historians, is Proof sufficient, that the King had no Inclination to *Popery*, notwithstanding he had *Papists* in his Army; and might convince any Person, less prejudiced to the *Royal Martyr* than Mr. *Neal*, in this Particular.

* ‘ Having drawn up his Men to a Rendezvous
‘ by *Wellington*, a Day’s March short of *Shrewsf-*
‘ *bury*, he the first time caused his Military Orders
‘ to be read; and putting himself in the middle,
‘ where he might be best heard, in a set Speech

* *Echard*, Vol. II. p. 344. *Clarendon’s History of the Rebellion*, Vol. II. p. 13. *Husbands’s exact Collections*, p. 614, 615. *Bishop Kenner’s compleat History*, Vol. III. p. 117. *Sir Roger Manley’s History of the Rebellions in England*, &c. p. 42.

" he told them, after an Inforcement of these Or-
 " ders, " That he could not suspect their Courage
 " and Resolution, their Conscience and Loyalty
 " had brought them thither, to fight for their Re-
 " ligion, their King, and the Laws of the Land.
 " They should meet with no Enemies, but Trai-
 " tors, most of them *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, and
 " *Atheists*; such who desire to destroy both Church
 " and State, and who had already condemned them
 " to Ruin, for being loyal to him." Then, after he
 " had promised to live and die with them, he made
 " a solemn Protestation to them, in these Words:
 " *I do promise, in the Presence of Almighty God,*
 " *and as I hope for his Blessing and Protection, that*
 " *I will, to the utmost of my power, defend and*
 " *maintain the true Protestant Religion, establish'd*
 " *in the Church of Eng'land; and, by the Grace of*
 " *God, in the same live and die. I do desire to*
 " *govern by the known Laws of the Land, and that*
 " *the Liberty and Property of the Subject may by*
 " *them be preserved with the same Care, as my own*
 " *just Rights. And if it pleases God, by his Blessing*
 " *upon this Army, rais'd for my necessary Defence,*
 " *to preserve me from this Rebellion, I do solemnly*
 " *and faithfully promise, in the sight of God, to*
 " *maintain the just Privileges and Freedom of Par-*
 " *liament, and to govern by the known Laws of the*
 " *Land, to my utmost power; and particularly,*
 " *to observe inviolably the Laws consented to by me*
 " *to this Parliament. In the mean while, if this*
 " *time of War, and the great Necessity and Straits I*
 " *am now driven to, beget any Violation of those, I*
 " *hope it shall be imputed by God and Men to the Au-*
 " *thors of the War, and not to me, who have earnest-*
 " *ly laboured for the Preservation of the Peace of the*
 " *Kingdom. When I willingly fail in these Particu-*
 " *lars, I will expect no Aid or Relief from any Man,*
 " *or Protection from Heaven: but, in this Resolution,*

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“ *I hope for the chearful Assistance of all good Men,
and am confident of God's Blessing.*”

And Dr. Thomas Smith informs us, in the Life of Bishop Usher, prefixed to the new Edition of his Annals, printed at Geneva, 1722. “ That the King, before he took the Sacrament from the hand of Archbishop Usher, in the Chapel of Christ's Church, Oxon, rose from his Knees, and spoke with an audible Voice, as follows * :
“ *My Lord, I espy here many resolved Protestants, who may declare to the World the Resolution I do now make. I have, to the utmost of my power, prepared my Soul to become a worthy Receiver; and may I so receive Comfort by the Blessed Sacrament, as I do intend the Establishment of the true Protestant Religion, as it stood in its Beauty in the happy Days of Queen Elizabeth, without any Conivance of Popery. I bless God, that in the midst of these Distractions, I have still Liberty to communicate; and may this Sacrament be my Damnation, if my Heart do not join with my Lips in this Protestation.*

“ This Protestation was made, when many of the Nobility, and other Persons of Distinction, were present.”

Neal, p. 589. *In this Interval, [viz. betwixt 1642. and September 5, 1646. when the Name, Stile, and Dignity of Bishops, was taken away by Ordinance of Parliament,] there was properly no established Form of Church-Government, the Clergy being permitted to read more or less of the Liturgy, as they pleased.*

Had this Gentleman ever read the Ordinance of the two Houses, for taking away the Book of Common-Prayer, and putting in execution the Directory for Publick Worship, dated Die Veneris,

* *Vita Jacobi Usserii*, p. 37.

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3 *Januarii*, 1644. prefixed to the *Directory*, he could not have asserted, as he here does. The Words : * ‘ Be it therefore ordained by the said
 ‘ Lords and Commons, &c. That the said Book of
 ‘ *Common-Prayer* shall not remain, or be from
 ‘ henceforth used, in any Church, Chapel, or
 ‘ Place of publick Worship, within the Kingdom
 ‘ of *England*, or Dominion of *Wales*; and that the
 ‘ *Directory* for Publick Worship herein set forth,
 ‘ shall be henceforth used, pursued, and observed,
 ‘ according to the true Intent and Meaning of this
 ‘ Ordinance, in all Exercises of the Publick Wor-
 ‘ ship of God, in this Kingdom of *England*, and
 ‘ Dominion of *Wales*.’ And by another Ordinance 23 *August*, 1645. for putting the *Directory* in execution, with Penalties for using the Book of *Common-Prayer*; † ‘ It is ordained by the said
 ‘ Lords and Commons, That if any Person or
 ‘ Persons whatsoever shall, at any time or times
 ‘ hereafter, use, or cause the aforesaid Book of *Common-Prayer* to be used in any Church, Chapel,
 ‘ or publick Place of Worship, or in any private
 ‘ Place or Family, within the Kingdom of *England*, or Dominion of *Wales*, or Port or Town of
 ‘ *Berwick*; that then every such Person so offending
 ‘ therein, shall for the first Offence forfeit and pay
 ‘ the Sum of Five Pounds of lawful *English* Money;
 ‘ for the second Offence, the Sum of Ten Pounds;
 ‘ and for the third Offence, shall suffer one whole
 ‘ Year’s Imprisonment, without Bail or Mainprize.’ And by the same Ordinance, every Minister neglecting the Use of the *Directory*, for every Neglect was to forfeit Forty Shillings. And the Depravers of it, by preaching, writing, or printing, were to forfeit a Sum not less than Five

* *Scobel's Collections*, p. 75, 76.

† *Ibid.* p. 97.

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Pounds, nor exceeding the Sum of 50*l.* to be imposed by those, before whom he should have his Trial.

Neal, p. 590. *The Names, Titles and Offices of Deans and Chapters, were not abolish'd till after the King's Death*, [This is modestly expressed; a less prejudiced Person, would have call'd it the *King's Murder*] in the Year 1649. Thus cautiously did the Parliament proceed, as long as there was any prospect of Accommodation with the King.

This cautious Parliament had actually assum'd to themselves the Sovereignty in 1642, as has been observ'd from Lord Clarendon, (Vol. II. p. 68, 69.) And I believe the leading Men of the two Houses had neither then, or at any other time, the least desire of an Accommodation. [See *Husbands's Exact Collections*, p. 267, 279.] Lord Hollis, who had himself, at the beginning of the Troubles, been as active in the Cause as any one, gives this Character of their Leaders :

* * Whilst these Men acted in the Simplicity of their Hearts, there was another Generation of Men, which like the *Frozen Snake*, that lay in their Bosoms, seem'd to desire but the same things with them, when it was nothing so; but they had further Designs to destroy, and cut off not a few, to make the Land an *Aceldama*, ruin the King, and as many of the Nobility and Gentry as they could; alter the Government, have no Order in the Church, nor Power in the State over them. This was the Venom they harbour'd, which at first they were not warm enough to put forth; but it soon appear'd, by some evident Symptoms which discover'd it to discerning Eyes. For as the Devil can transform himself into an *Angel of Light*, so they pretended Zeal in Religion, and to be

* Lord Hollis's Memoirs, p. 5, 6, 7, &c.

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' *Publick Spirits*, as if none were so Holy and Self-
 ' denying as they, and so insinuated themselves into
 ' the good Opinion of Men; and being bold and
 ' forward, got into all Employments, and en-
 ' gross'd the whole Management of the War to them-
 ' selves; whilst others, who meant honestly, were
 ' desirous of seeing the Business soon at an end.
 ' This was the first step of those unworthy Mens
 ' getting into Power, when other Gentlemen of the
 ' House of Commons unluckily left it upon these
 ' Occasions; they then undertook the Business, put
 ' themselves and Creatures into all Committees;
 ' Persons most of them before only known by their
 ' Faces, and esteem'd for their Silence and Mode-
 ' sty; but they soon grew bold and impudent, do-
 ' mineering not only over the rest of the House,
 ' but much over others abroad, and by their
 ' Pride and Insolency, contracting Envy and Ha-
 ' tred to the Parliament. By this means they
 ' had power over all the Money in the Kingdom,
 ' pleasur'd and recompenc'd whom they would,
 ' which were none, be sure, but their Creatures, or
 ' such as would be theirs; and so made many Pro-
 ' selytes within doors and without, increasing their
 ' Party exceedingly; which made them carry the
 ' Business of their House as they would themselves,
 ' and made it easy to them in all Debates, concern-
 ' ing *Applications for Peace*, to drive us to extre-
 ' mities; demanding unreasonable things, laying
 ' upon the King the Conditions of *Naash*, to
 ' thrust out his right Eye for a Reproach, or as the
 ' Devil did to our Saviour, to have him fall down
 ' and worship them; lay his Honour at their feet;
 ' his Life at their mercy; whilst they, upon all Oc-
 ' casions, revile and reproach him; give counte-
 ' nance and encouragement to all the bitter, scurri-
 ' lous and unseemly Expressions against him, im-
 ' peach the Queen, give her the Usage (both in
 ' Words and Actions) one would not have done to
 ' the

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the meanest Handmaid in the Kingdom, tho' the Wife, Daughter, and Sister of a King, &c. Then was there nothing but expelling Members out of the House, on the least Information. If any of those *Whelps* did but bark against any one, and could but say, he was busy in the Country; nothing but sequestering, impeaching of Treason, turning Men and their Families, turning Wives and Children to starve: so many Committees and Sub-Committees of Examinations, Sequestrations, 5th and 20th Parts, &c. made in City and Country; and some of the most factious, busy, beggarly Men put in, as fittest Tools for such Masters to work by, to rake Men to the Bones, and take all advantages to ruin them. This was a great breaking of heart to all honest Men, especially to those in the House, who being present, and Eye-Witnesses to the Management of Affairs, easily discovered the drift of those Persons; which made those *Blood-Suckers* conceive a mortal hatred against them, and in truth against all *Gentlemen*, and those who had too great an Interest, and too large a Stake in the Kingdom, to engage with them in their Design, of perpetuating the War to an absolute Confusion.'

And yet such was the great Attachment of some at that time to that *Fag-end* of a Parliament, that we read of one * She-Devotee in *Lime-Street*, who durst not in Conscience take Physic, without an Order of Parliament, from the House of Commons, for so doing.

Neal, p. 592. Besides the Monthly Fast, the opening the War, gave rise to another Exercise of Prayer, and Exhortation to Repentance, for an Hour every Morning in the Week. Most of the Citizens of London, having some near Relation, or Friend in the

* Persecutio Undecima, p. 10.

Army of the Earl of Essex; so many Bills were sent up to the Pulpit every Lord's-Day for their Preferment, that the Minister had neither time to read them, nor to recommend their Case to God in Prayer.

Mr. Foulis, mentions a *sanctified Sister*, one Mrs. Beale, who had a Bill put up in *Martin's Church Westminster*, where the zealous Mr. Case was Lecturer; for her Son's Conversion, in the following Form:

* ' These are to desire you to take into your Christian Consideration, the Grief and Sorrow of one Mrs. Beale in *Westminster*; whose Son, *Francis Beale*, is fallen away from Grace, and serves the King in his Wars: wherefore she most humbly desires the Prayers of this Congregation, that he may return and be converted.' Nay, to such a height of *Enthusiastic* Madness were some carried in those Days, ' That one (as Dr. South † informs us) murdered his own Mother, for kneeling at the Sacrament, alledging it was Idolatry, and that his Conscience told him, it was his Duty to destroy Idolaters.' Dr. *Bastwick* says, || ' He murdered his Mother, and Brother.' Which Mr. *Burton* confirms, and says, ‡ That his Name was *Ap-Evans*; but in excuse, he pretends, he was a *distracted Man*. Mr. *Baxter* gives us to understand, that Wonders were done by his *Praying* Neighbours, by *extempore* Prayer; for speaking of his Wife's Illness, he says, ** ' While we were all rejoicing in her Change, she fell into a Cough, and seeming Consumption, in which we

* *Foulis's History of the Wicked Plots and Conspiracies of the pretended Saints*, p. 181. The Noble Cavalier Characteriz'd, p. 5, 6.

† *South's Sermons*, Vol. III. p. 225.

|| *Bastwick's Litany*, p. 4.

‡ *Burton's Two Sermons*, entitled, *God and the King*, 5 November 1636, p. 16.

** *Breviate of the Life of Mrs. Margaret Baxter*, by *Richard Baxter*, 1681, p. 8.

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‘ almost despair’d of her Life. Mr. *Jackson* the Physician, and *myself*, seeing the Case too hard for us, describ’d it to Dr. *Prujean*, and Dr. *G. Bates* ; who both judg’d it a Consumption, and both prescribed her the same Medicines. But all these and Change of Air long, and Breast-Milk, &c. did no good. I, and my *Praying Neighbours*, were so sorry that such a changed Person should presently be taken away, before she had time to manifest her Sincerity, and do God any service in the World ; that in Grief they resolv’d to fast and pray for her. For former Experience had lately much rais’d their Belief of the Success of Prayer. They had lately prayed for one that seem’d *Demoniack*, that (after some Years Misery) was suddenly freed of that Disease. They had oft prayed for me in dangerous Illness, and I had speedy help. I had lately swallow’d a *Gold Bullet* for a Medicine, and it lodged in me long, and no means would bring it away, till they met to *fast*, and *pray*, and it came away that Morning. A young Man yet living, falling into a violent *Epilepsy*, and after all means long remaining uncured ; they set to Fasting and Prayer in his hearing, and he was suddenly cured, and never had a Fit since. God did not deny their Prayers, *though they were without Book*, and such as some deride as *extemporate*. I was not with them in any of these, but *Laymen*, that were humble praying Persons only.’

Neal, p. 593. Nor was the Reformation of Manners less remarkable ; the Laws against Vice and Prophaneness were so strict, and so rigorously put in execution, that Wickedness was forced to hide itself in Corners.

Sir Roger L’*Estrange* observes, * ‘ That if by *Piety*, is meant the preaching up of Treason and Blasphemy

* Relapsed Apostate, p. 20.

‘ the Pulpit ; the giving God thanks for Murder,
 ‘ and seizing by Fraud and Violence another’s
 ‘ Office, and Living, and refusing the Communion
 ‘ to a Man refusing the Covenant ; there was never
 ‘ more Piety than in those Times of Confusion.’

Neal, p. 594. If we go from the City to the Camp of the Earl of Essex, we shall find no less Probity of Manners among them ; for most of his Soldiers were such, as did not fight so much for Pay, as for Religion, and the Liberties of their Country.

Since *Mr. Neal* cries up this Rebel Army, so much for the *Probity of their Manners* ; I hope he will not take it amiss, if I give him an Instance or two of that kind, from two Original Letters, in the custody of a worthy Friend of mine, from some governing Officers in the Earl of *Essex's* Army, to two active Members of the House of Commons.

* ‘ Gentlemen, We shall acquaint you, that an
 ‘ honest Neighbour of ours, *John Henley of Marsh,*
 ‘ was to pay 100*l.* upon Bond, to *Mr. Cadwal-*
 ‘ *ader Coker of Bissiter* ; but the Debt belong’d, as
 ‘ we are informed, to *Sir Richard Farmer a Papist* ;
 ‘ and we having Intelligence thereof, have seized
 ‘ upon the Money for the use of the Parliament ;
 ‘ and if it belongs to *Sir Richard Farmer*, he is both
 ‘ a *Papist*, and in the King’s Army ; if it belongs
 ‘ to *Mr. Coker*, he is an extreme *Malignant* ; and
 ‘ was Foreman of the Jury, upon the Trial of
 ‘ those who were condemn’d at *Oxford*, and hath
 ‘ done nothing for the Parliament : so that we can-
 ‘ not doubt but the Parliament will conceive it fit-
 ‘ ting, that the Money shall be made use of by
 ‘ us, for the † *use of the King and Parliament*. But
 ‘ that

* Manuscript Collections of the Rev. Dr. *Philip Williams*, President of *St. John's College Cambridge*, Vol. II. N^o. 133.

† Tho’ these *Caunting Rebels* endeavour’d to take away the King’s Life, by shooting at him ; their Acquittances for borrowing

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‘ that which we desire of you is, to acquaint the
‘ House with it, and that some Order may be made
‘ therein for the Discharge of *Henley*, who was to
‘ have paid the Money; or else the Prejudice will
‘ be his, he being bound to pay the Money. It is
‘ probable we may lay hold of more Money of this
‘ kind, if there may be some general Order in that
‘ behalf, to excuse the Parties which are bound to
‘ pay the Moneys, &c.

‘ Your Friends and Servants,

Aylesbury, 11 Jan.
1642.

Ar. Goodwin, Richard Ingoldsby.
Tho. Tyrrell. Ri. Serjeant.

To our very loving Friends, *Bulstrode Whitlocke*,
and *Richard Winwood*, Esquires, or either of
them,

With this *modest* Request of these Gentlemen of
great Probity of Manners, that *Parliament* of *Pa-*
*triot*s complied, as appears from a second original
Letter to the same *worthy Members*. * ‘ Gentle-
‘ men, we receiv’d from you an Order of the
‘ House for the 100 l. which we seized upon, that
‘ was to be paid to Mr. *Coker*, or Sir *Richard Far-*
‘ *mer*, who is since dead: we thank you for your
‘ Care of us therein. And we shall recommend
‘ the like Case unto you of a greater Sum; for we
‘ understand that Sir *Thomas Saunders* is shortly,
‘ within a very few days, to pay 1000 l. or more,

rowing of Money run in the Name of the King and Parliament.
I formerly had an original Acquittance of *Oliver Cromwell’s*, in
the following Words: 28 March, 1643. Received of John Annis
of Landbeach, in the County of Cambridge, for the Use of the King
and Parliament, the Sum of Five Pounds, to be repaid according
to the Propositions of Parliament. Oliver Cromwell,
Witness *Tho. Martyn*.

* MSS. Rev. P. Williams, Vol. II. N^o 146;

378 *Mr. NEAL'S II^d Vol. of the*

‘ to Sir *Walter Pie*, who, you know, is a busy
 ‘ Man in the King’s Army, and, unnaturally to
 ‘ his Country, attended Prince *Rupert*, against this
 ‘ Town, when he appeared before it, and is now
 ‘ raising a Regiment of Horse in *Herefordshire*. Sir
 ‘ *Thomas Saunders* is now in *London*, whom, if you
 ‘ please to confer withal herein, will discover to
 ‘ you the Truth; and if we can fasten upon that
 ‘ Sum, it will be a good Encouragement to us,
 ‘ and to our Soldiers. We have no other Matter
 ‘ to trouble you with at this time; but take our
 ‘ Leaves, and rest

‘ Your assured loving Friends to serve you,

Aylesbury, 20 Jan.
 1642.

Henry Bulstrode.
Tba. Tyrrell.
Ri. Grenvile.

To our very worthy Friends, *Richard Winwood*,
 and *Bulstrode Whitlocke*, Esquires, or either
 of them.

I leave it to Mr. *Neal* to put his own Comment
 upon these two Letters; and if they are a Proof of
 that *Probity of Manners*, which he so highly extols
 in the Parliament Army, I doubt not but Variety
 of Proofs to the same purpose, might, without any
 great difficulty, be produced.

Neal, p. 594. Mr. *Whitlocke* observes, that Co-
 lonel *Cromwel’s* Regiment of Horse were most of them
Freeholders Sons, who engaged in the War upon Prin-
 ciples of Conscience.

If he had said upon *libertine* and *rebellious* Prin-
 ciples, he had come much nearer the Truth. Sir
Philip Warwick informs us, * ‘ That the King’s
 ‘ Voluntier Guard of Noblemen and Gentlemen,

* *Memoirs*, p. 230.

‘ who,

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‘ who, with their Attendants, made such Troops,
‘ that they consisted of three hundred Horse; for a
‘ Vanity had possessed the Troop, upon being cal-
‘ led the *Troop of Shew*, to desire the Honour of being
‘ engaged in the first Charge. When we valued the
‘ whole Troop, we reckoned there was one hundred
‘ thousand Pounds *per Annum*, in that Body staked
‘ that Day in that Engagement, against Men of
‘ a very disproportionable Quality.’ And Mr.
Echard says, (as Mr. *Oldmixon* informs us) * ‘ That
‘ they were Men of better Estates, than the two
‘ Houses of *Lords* and *Commons*.’

Oliver Cromwell, when he was pressed to the *King-*
ship, speaking of the two Armies, observed, that the
King’s consisted of Gentlemen and Freeholders, and
the Parliament’s of the Dregs and Refuse of the Peo-
ple. † ‘ At my first going out into this Engagement,
‘ I saw that their Men were beaten at every hand,
‘ I did indeed; and desired Mr. *John Hampden* that
‘ he would make some Additions to my Lord *Effex*’s
‘ Army, of some new Regiments, and I told him,
‘ I would be serviceable to him in bringing such
‘ Men in, as I thought had a Spirit, that would do
‘ some Service in the Work. This is very true that
‘ I tell you, God knows I lye not: your Troops,
‘ said I, are most of them old, decay’d Serving-
‘ Men, and Tapsters, and such kind of Fellows;
‘ and said I, their Troops are Gentlemens youn-
‘ ger Sons, and Persons of Quality. Do you think
‘ that the Spirit of such base and mean Fellows will
‘ ever be able to encounter Gentlemen, that have
‘ Honour, and Courage, and Resolution in them.
‘ Truly I presented him in this manner, conscien-

* *Critical History of England*, Vol. I. p. 216.

† *Monarchy asserted to be the best, and most ancient, and most
legal Form of Government; in a Conference had at White-hall,
with Oliver Lord Protector, and a Committee of Parliament, &c.
Printed 1660. p. 38. Penes me.*

‘tiously and truly; I did tell him you must get
 ‘Men of Spirit, and take it not ill what I say, of
 ‘a Spirit, that is likely to go on as far as Gentle-
 ‘men will go, or else I am sure you will be beaten
 ‘still.’

The Puritan [or Parliament] Clergy were zealous Calvinists, and having been prohibited for some Years, from preaching against the Arminians, they now pointed all their Artillery against them, insisting upon little else but the Doctrines of Predestination, Justification by Faith alone, Salvation by Free Grace, and the Inability of Man to do that which is good.

The Doctrine they preach'd is to be met with in the Tracts referred to in the * Margin: from whence it appears, I think, that the drift of their Sermons before the two Houses, was little else but Sedition and Rebellion.

Neal, ibid. Those who made up the Assembly of Divines, and who through the Land were the Honour of the Parliament Party, were almost all such as till then had conformed, and took the Ceremonies to be lawful in Cases of Necessity, but long'd to have that Necessity removed.

That is, in other Words, the Generality of them proved themselves to be *Villains*, upon the first Opportunity they had of doing it. For I take it for granted, they had subscribed without any Reserves. The King's Character of this *Assembly*, in his Proclamation prohibiting their Meeting, is this:
 † ‘That the far greater part of them were Men
 ‘of no Reputation or Learning, and eminently
 ‘disaffected to the Government of the Church of

* Sir Roger L'Estrange's *Dissenters Sayings*, 2 Parts. *A Century of eminent Presbyterian Preachers*, &c. Printed for J. Roberts, 1723. *A Looking-glass for Schismatics: or, a true Picture of Fanaticism; in a summary View of the Principles of the Rebels of 1641*. Printed for Tho. Warner, 1725.

† Bibliotheca Regia, p. 329.

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‘ England, and many of them Persons who had
‘ openly preach’d Rebellion, and had excited the
‘ People to take up Arms against him, and so were
‘ not likely to be proper Instruments of Peace in
‘ Church or State.’ And * Lord Clarendon’s;
‘ That of about one hundred and twenty, of
‘ which that great Assembly did consist, though
‘ by the Recommendation of two or three Mem-
‘ bers of the House of Commons, whom they
‘ would not willingly displease, a few reverend and
‘ worthy Men were inserted; yet of the whole
‘ Number there was not above twenty who were
‘ not declared Enemies to the Doctrine and Dis-
‘ cipline of the Church; some of them infamous in
‘ their Lives and Conversations, and most of them
‘ of mean Parts in Learning, if not of scandalous
‘ Ignorance, and of no other Reputation, than Ma-
‘ lice to the Church of *England*.’ But lest these
should be look’d upon as Characters from preju-
diced Persons, I desire he will take a Character
of them from the *famous Milton*, whom he may
possibly esteem less prejudiced. † ‘ And if
‘ the State (*says he*) were in this plight, Religion
‘ was not in much better; to reform which, a
‘ certain number of Divines were called, neither
‘ chosen by any Rule or Custom Ecclesiastical,

* History of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 414.

† *Milton’s* Character of the Long Parliament, and Assembly
of Divines, printed 1681. p. 5. The compound or complicated
Mr. *John Richardson*, (to use their own Words, *Life of Mil-*
ton, p. 141. published 1734.) *Father and Son*, (‘ which com-
‘ pound Man, as they tell us, might probably produce what no
‘ single Man could,’) in their late *Life of Milton*, prefixed to
their explanatory Notes, and Remarks on *Milton’s Paradise lost*,
p. 47. inform us, ‘ That this Tract was printed 1681. and
‘ was part of his *History of England*, and expunged, it being
‘ a sort of Digression, and to avoid giving offence to a Party
‘ quite subdued, and whose Faults the Government was then
‘ willing to have forgotten.’ And it is said to have been part of
his *History of Britain*, in the Preface to the Tract.

' nor eminent for either Piety or Knowledge a-
 ' bove others left out; only as each Member of
 ' Parliament in his private Fancy thought fit,
 ' so elected one by one. The most part of them
 ' were such, as had preach'd and cry'd down,
 ' with great Shew of Zeal, the Avarice and Plu-
 ' ralities of Bishops and Prelates; that one Cure of
 ' Souls was a full Employment for one spiritual
 ' Pastor, how able soever, if not a Charge rather
 ' above Human Strength. Yet these conscientious
 ' Men, e'er any part of the Work done, for which
 ' they came together, (and that on the publick Sa-
 ' lary) wanted not Boldness, to the Ignominy
 ' and Scandal of their *Pastor-like Profession*, and e-
 ' specially of their boasted Reformation, to seize
 ' into their hands, or not unwillingly to accept [be-
 ' sides one, sometimes two, or more of the best
 ' Living.] *Collegiate Masterships*, in the Universi-
 ' ties, rich Lectures in the City, setting sail to all
 ' Winds, that might blow Gain into their covetous
 ' Bosoms. By which means, these great Rebukers
 ' of *Non-Residence*, among so many distant Cures,
 ' were not ashamed to be seen so quickly *Pluralists*
 ' and *Non-Residents* themselves, to a fearful Con-
 ' demnation doubtless by their own Mouths. And
 ' yet the main Doctrine for which they took such
 ' Pay, and insisted upon with more Vehemence
 ' than Gospel, was but to tell us in effect, that
 ' their Doctrine was worth nothing, and the spi-
 ' ritual Power of their Ministry less available than
 ' bodily Compulsion; persuading the Magistrate
 ' to use it, as a stronger means to subdue and bring
 ' in Conscience, than Evangelical Persuasion: dis-
 ' trusting the Virtue of their own spiritual Wea-
 ' pons, which were given them, if they be rightly
 ' called, with full Warrant of Sufficiency, to pull
 ' down all Thoughts and Imaginations that exalt
 ' themselves against God. But while they taught
 ' Compul-

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Compulsion without Convincement, which not long before they complain'd of, as executed *Unchristianly* against themselves, these Intents are clear to have been no better than *Antichristian*: Setting up a Spiritual Tyranny by a Secular Power, to the advancing of their own Authority above the Magistrate, whom they would have made their Executioners to punish Church-Delinquencies; whereof of Civil Laws have no cognisance. Again, (p. 8.) the People therefore looking one while upon the *Statists*, whom they beheld without Constancy or Firmness, &c. then looking on the *Church-men*, whom they saw under subtle Hypocrisy, to have preach'd their own Follies, most of them, not the Gospel; Time-servers, Covetous, Illiterate Persecutors, not Lovers of the Truth, like in most things whereof they accused their Predecessors! Looking on all this, the People which had been kept warm a-while with the counterfeit Zeal of their Pulpits, after a false Heat, became more cold and obdurate than before; some turning to Leudness, some to flat *Atheism*, put beside their old Religion, and foully scandalized in what they expected should be new.

* ' It would be good (says he, in another place) also, if they lived so, as might persuade People they hated Covetousness, which, worse than *Heresy*, is *Idolatry*; hated † Pluralities, and all kind of Simony, lest rambling from Benefice to Benefice, like ravenous Wolves, seeking where they

* *Milton's Life*, printed before his Prose Works, by J. Toland, p. 25.

† Sir William Dugdale informs us, [View of the Troubles, p. 225.] " That when a Member of the Assembly of Divines, was told by an eminent Person, that a certain Church in the West had no Incumbent; the Assembly-Man ask'd, what the yearly Value was? And when told, that it was but 50*l* per Annum; he replied, if it be no better, No Godly Man will take it."

' may

‘ may devour the biggest. Let them be sorry, that being called to assemble about reforming the Church, they fell to proggings and soliciting (tho’ they had renounced the Name of *Priests*) for a new settling their Tithes and Oblations, and double lined themselves with Spiritual Places of Commodity, beyond the possible discharge of their Duty. Let them assemble in Consistory, with their Elders and Deacons, to the preserving of Church-Discipline each in his several Charge, and not a pack of Clergymen by themselves to belly-cheer in their presumptuous *Sion*, or to promote Designs, to abuse and gull the simple Laity, to stir up Tumults as the Prelates did before them, for the maintenance of their Pride and Avarice.’

Their Ignorance is sufficiently exposed by Mr. *Whitlocke*, a Friend of their own, who in his *Memoirs* does relate; || ‘ That divers Members of both Houses, were Members of this *Assembly*; and had the same liberty with the Divines, to sit and debate, and give their Votes in any matter, which was in consideration amongst them: In which Debates, Mr. *Selden* speaks admirably, and confuted divers of them in their own Learning. And sometimes when they had cited a Text of Scripture to prove their Assertion, he would tell them, *Perhaps in your little Pocket-Bibles with gilt Leaves*, (which they would often pull out and read) *the Translation may be thus, but the Greek or the Hebrew signifies thus and thus*: and so would totally silence them.’ * Archbishop *Laud* gives this Opinion of them: ‘ A great, if not the greater part of them were *Brownists*, or *Independents*, or *New-England* Ministers, if not worse; or at best, refractory Persons to the Doctrine or Discipline, or

|| Bishop *Kenner*’s Compleat History, Vol. III. p. 135.

* Id. Ib.

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‘ both, of the Church of England established by
‘ Law, and now brought together to reform it.
‘ An excellent *Conclave*! But I pray God that be-
‘ fall not them, which *Tully* observes fell upon
‘ *Epicurus*; *That he made every thing worse that he*
‘ *went about to mend.*’ Nay, the remarkable Let-
ter in † *Bishop Kennet*, directed to some Foreign
Reformed Churches, had been a sufficient reproach
to any *Divines*, but such as were singular Enemies
to the King and the Church of *England*.

Neal, *Ibid.* *Almost all those called Prebyterians,*
and all that Learned and Pious Synod at Westminster
had been Conformists, and kept up an honourable
Esteem for those Bishops, that they thought Religious,
as Archbishop Usher, &c.

What regard they paid to good Archbishop *Usher*,
is plain, from their ordering (by general Consent)
his Name to be struck out of the List of the
Assembly of *Divines* ||.

And

† *Id. Ib.*

|| *Vita Jacobi Usserii, per Th. Smith, S. T. P. p. 37. Quales vero*
fuerint istius Novæ, & hæcenus in Angliã inauditæ Synodi, ex
Clericis, Laicisque conflatæ, Adfessores, non parum interesse
puto, ut Posterì norint. Plerique Classicum ad bellum contra
Regem gerendum ejuratâ fide, in pulpitis cecinerant; & in Hier-
archiam, ab omni Tempore in Ecclesiâ Catholicâ stabilitam,
impudentissimis, spurcissimisque Libellis, apud Vulgũ, quaquã-
versum sparsis, & procacissimis Conciunculis furore fanatico
perciti, fuerant debacchati. Præclari quidem Mystra istis e regis
Muniis obeundis maxime idonei! Non negandum est versutos homi-
nes ad quãdam sive Gratiam, sive Auctoritatem sibi concili-
andam, quosdam ex Episcopis, Presbyterisque, qui nondum ab
illorum bonâ existimatione excidissent, intermisceri voluisse. In
quibus, ut alios taceam, D. Usserius venit nominandus. At ille,
quod de cæteris venerandis Præsulibus dicendum est, satis gnarus
intolerandum Schisma inde enasciturum, multasque prodigiosas in
detrimentum, imo & perniciem, veræ Religionis, & Ecclesiæ Mu-
tationes ex Necessitate suboriturus esse; Illos nec præsentia suã
vel semel dignari voluit, & ab isto Malignantium Cœtu prorsus
abstinuit. Detracta enim Sanctimonix, quã scelerata Concilia
C c
prius

And we are told, * * That the *Presbyterians*, whilst the Archbishop was living, seiz'd upon all his Estate, deprived him of all his Benefices, and offer'd many rude Insults towards his Person. It's well known, how the King, in consideration of the Bishop's great Merits, had given him large Preferments in *Ireland*; but upon the breaking out of the *Irish* Rebellion, he suffer'd great Losses; inso-much that he was obliged to sell his Plate and Jewels for a Subsistence: which occasion'd the King to bestow on him the Bishoprick of *Carlisle*; the Revenues of which were soon after seized upon by Order of Parliament. It's true, they voted him a Pension, which has been shewn to be only nominal, not a real Favour. It's no wonder that the *Irish Papists* should seize upon the Estate of a Protestant Bishop; but that he should meet with worse usage from the hands of those, who would be thought the only true *Protestants*, cannot be accounted for. Cardinal *Richlieu* showed him many marks of his Kindness and Esteem, in honour of his great Learning. But our reforming Parliament were equally Enemies to his Learning, and *Episcopal Dignity*. For they made an Order for the seizing of his Study of Books, and had exposed them to sale, if some Persons, who had Interest with them, had not obtain'd them for their own Use; but many of his Writings and Papers were imbezeld and stolen away, to the great loss of the Learned World: and the *Godly Af-*

prius obtexerant Larva, *Usserius* Oxonii sub Castrorum Regionum praesidio tutus, Rebellionem jam aperta facie ubique grassantem ex animo execratus est, multosque Concionibus assiduus, Colloquiis, Hortatibus, &c. nutantes in fide erga Regem praestanda confirmavit, Lapidosque restituit. Nec id diu Factiosos Rebellesque *Westmonasterienses* latere potuit, qui ex communi Suffragatione lata illius nomen ex albo Adversorum expungendum iussere: quod honori & beneficii loco *Usserius* duxit.

* *Seditious Preachers, Ungodly Teachers*, p. 55, 56.

‘ *sembly*

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‘ ssembly professed that Respect for him, as to petition for him to be turn’d out of their * Synod; and so left him to the wide World, where he lived and died upon the Charity of good *Christians*.’

Neal, p. 599. *Nor were the Parliament Divines the chief Incendiarys between the King and People, if we may believe Mr. Baxter, who knew the Puritans of those times much better than his Lordship; [viz. Lord Clarendon.]*

I will not say, that Mr. Baxter was a *dishonest Man*; but I am sure he was a *weak one*. He himself informs us, † ‘ That he wrote the Life of his old Friend and House-keeper *Jane Matthews*, who lived in pious humble *Virginity*, with eminent worth, to about seventy-six or seventy-seven Years, and died of mere Decay, without Pain or Sickness about a Month or six Weeks before his Wife. And it would have been well for him, had he taken the Advice of his *Wife*, and *some others*, who, he tells us, ‡ thought he had done better, had he written fewer Books, and done those few better: tho’ he himself was of opinion, that while he wrote none needlessly, the *modal Imperfection* of two, was less evil than the *total Omission* of one.’

Nay, if we may take his own Word for it, he was too much attached to that Cause, to be a competent Witness in favour of it. In his *Holy Commonwealth*, published 1659, he says, ‘ If I had taken up Arms in that War against the Parliament, my Conscience tells me, I had been a Traytor, and guilty of resisting the Higher Powers.’ And again, (p. 486.) ‘ I cannot see I was mistaken in the main Cause, nor dare I repent of it, nor forbear the same, if it was to be done in the same

* Bishop Kennet’s Compleat History, Vol. III. p. 135.

† Preface to *A Breviate of the Life of Mrs. Margaret Baxter*, by Richard Baxter, printed 1681.

‡ Breviate of Mrs. Baxter’s Life, p. 73. *penes me*,

‘ State of Things.’ Abundance of Passages to the same purpose might be produced from the same Book. And the famed Passage printed in various Editions of his *Saints Everlasting Rest*, before the Restoration; tho’ left out, if I am rightly informed, in the subsequent Editions; is a further Proof of it. * ‘ I think (says he) *Christians*, this will be ‘ a more honourable Assembly, than you ever here ‘ beheld; and a more happy Society than you were ‘ ever of before. Surely *Brook*, and *Pym*, and ‘ *Hampden*, and *White*, &c. are now Members of ‘ a more knowing, unerring, well-ordered, right- ‘ aiming, self-denying, unanimous, honourable ‘ triumphant Senate, than this, from whence they ‘ were taken, is, or ever Parliament will be.’ And I don’t find that this *Conscientious* Man ever retracted these Rebellious Principles; tho’ I find him scrupulously retracting much less Crimes. † ‘ Tho’ ‘ my Conscience (says he) would trouble me, when ‘ I sinned, yet divers Sins I was addicted to, and ‘ oft committed against my Conscience; which for ‘ the warning of others, I will here confess to my ‘ shame. I was much addicted to the excessive ‘ gluttonous eating of *Apples* and *Pears*; which I ‘ think laid the Foundation of the *Imbecillity*, and ‘ *Flatulency* of my *Stomach*, which caused the bodily ‘ Calamities of my Life. To this end, and to con- ‘ cur with naughty Boys, that gloried in Evil, I ‘ have oft gone into other Mens Orchards, and ‘ stol’n the Fruit, when I had enough at home.’ There are six other Retractions; at the end of which, he concludes: ‘ These were my Sins, which, in ‘ my Childhood, Conscience troubled me for a great ‘ while, before they were overcome.’

* *Saints Everlasting Rest*, printed for *Tho. Underhill*, 1652. Penes me. 3d Edition.

† *Mr. Baxter's Life*, written by himself, and publish'd in Folio, by *Mat. Silvester*, 1696. p. 2.

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Neal, *Ibid.* It is not true, (says this Divine) that they stirred up People to War, there was hardly one such Man in a County; tho' they disliked the late Innovations, and were glad the Parliament was attempting a Reformation: They might inveigh too freely in their Sermons against the Vices of the Clergy, and the Severities of the late Times; but in all the Fast-Sermons that I have read for some Years after the beginning of the War, I have met with no Reflections upon the Person of the King, but a Religious Observation of that Political Maxim, *The King can do no wrong.*

Mr. Baxter's Authority can't sure be admitted against Fact. I have read over most of the *Publick Fast-Sermons*, &c. before the two Houses, from the Year 1640, to the taking off the King's Head, and could produce him hundreds of Instances for the disproof of Mr. Baxter's Assertion; and will give him a *Specimen* from the Sermons of the most popular, and leading Men of those Times.

' Right Honourable, consider this, those Persons, who have neglected the Execution of Justice upon their most implacable Enemies, when God has given them into their hands; those God has left to perish basely and miserably. See it in *Abab*, God gives *Benbadad* into *Abab*'s hands; *Because thou hast let a Man go, that I had appointed to destruction, therefore thy Life shall be for his Life.* So concerning *Saul*'s sparing *Agag*, he would shift off the Command, and therefore God shifted him out of the Kingdom; when he neglected to do Justice to an implacable Enemy, when God had given him into his hands.'

Tho. Brook's Fast-Sermon before the Commons, December 26. 1648. p. 18. [a Member of the Assembly of Divines.]

' *Benbadad*'s Life was once in *Abab*'s hands, and he ventur'd God's Displeasure to let him go: But see how *Benbadad* rewards him: *Fight neither a-*

‘ *gainst great nor small, but against the King of Israel. Honourable and Worthy, if God don’t lead you to do Justice against those, that have been the great Actors in shedding of innocent Blood, never think of gaining their Love, by sparing them. For they will, when Opportunity offers, turn again upon you: But then they will not fight against the Poor and Mean, but against those that have been the Fountain of that Authority and Power, which had been improved against them.*’

George Cockayn’s Fast-Sermon before the Commons, November 29. 1648. p. 26.

‘ *In the Story of Asa’s putting to death his Mother Maacha, it is said, that he removed her from being Queen; because she had made an Idol in a Grove, he broke down her Idol, and also Maacha his Mother, even her he removed from being Queen: Altho’ a Mother, altho’ a Queen; yet even her he deprived of her Dignity. This he did, and this he must do, by virtue of the special Command of God himself, even in what Relation soever she had stood unto him. For so in Deuteronomy xiii. 6. the Law was: For tho’ she had been nearer than a Mother, even the Wife of his own Bosom; yet if she were an Idolater, and should entice him secretly, saying, Let us go, and serve other Gods; she must have been put to death, and his hand must have been first upon her.*’

* *Cornelius Burgefs’s Fast-Sermon before the Commons, November 17. 1640. [Member of the Assembly of Divines, and one of Mr. Neal’s eminent Divines, p. 595.]*

‘ But,

* ‘ *Burgefs was a Chief Leader of the rascally Rabble out of London, to cry out Justice against the Earl of Strafford, and against the Bishops; and at length, he invaded the Deanery of Paul’s, being allow’d a Stipend of 400 l. yearly: and since,*
‘ he

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‘ But now mark the Doctrine ; When God begins
 ‘ to build and plant, if that Nation do Evil, God
 ‘ will unbuild what he has built, and pluck up
 ‘ what he has planted, and repent of the Good, &c.
 ‘ For you must know, that God repents as well of
 ‘ his Mercies, as of his Judgments ; when God
 ‘ made *Saul* King, and he proved stubborn and dis-
 ‘ obedient, he repented, that he had made him
 ‘ King.’

* *Edmund Calamy's* Sermon before the Com-
 mons, *December 22. 1641. p. 34.* [Mem-
 ber of the Assembly of Divines.]

‘ If there be found any amongst you, that drive on
 ‘ the Designs of *Oxford*, and are found at *Westmin-*
 ‘ *ster*, only to betray their Country, the Lord un-
 ‘ mask such, and the Lord give them repenting
 ‘ Hearts: this is to build up Houses with the Blood

‘ he hath invaded the House of the Bishop of *Wells*, and much
 ‘ of the Lands. But had he been made Dean of *St. Paul's*, or
 ‘ Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, by King *Charles*, he would never
 ‘ have opposed the Bishops !’ *An Apology for the Bishops to sit*
and vote in Parliament, 1660. p. 44.

* *Dr. South* informs us, (Sermons, Vol. I. p. 513.) ‘ That
 ‘ he had it from the Mouth of *Axtell*, (one of the *Regicides*,) That
 ‘ he, with many more, went into that execrable War, with such
 ‘ a controuling Horror upon their Spirits, from those Publick Ser-
 ‘ mons, (especially those of *Brook*, and *Calamy*,) that they ve-
 ‘ rily believed, that they should have been accursed of God for
 ‘ ever, if they had not acted their Part in that dismal Tragedy,
 ‘ and heartily done the Devil's Work, being so effectually called,
 ‘ and commanded to it in God's Name.’

Calamy discover'd but too much of this wicked Spirit, in his
 famed Speech at *Guildhall, October 6. 1643.* ‘ If you would
 ‘ have a Peace with *Papery*, a Peace with *Slavery* ; if you would
 ‘ have a *Judas* Peace, or a *Joab* his Peace, you know the Story.
 ‘ He kissed *Amasa*, and then killed him: If you would have a
 ‘ Peace, that may bring a Massacre with it, a *French* Peace ; if you
 ‘ would have such a Peace, it may be had easily : But if you
 ‘ would have a Peace, that may continue the Gospel among you,
 ‘ such as the Godly in the Kingdom desire ; I am confident such
 ‘ a Peace cannot be had, without contributing towards bringing
 ‘ in the *Scots*.’

‘ of three Kingdoms; this is to sell your Souls for
 ‘ Preferment, and it is just with God, that such
 ‘ not only lose their Souls, but lose their Prefer-
 ‘ ments also, as *Judas* that sold his Master, hung
 ‘ himself.’

Calamy's Fast-Sermon before the Commons,
October 22. 1644. p. 25.

‘ A Child, a poor Child that hath Wisdom, will
 ‘ have more love and honour than a *King, tho' an*
 ‘ *old Man and a great Prince*; if he be *doating* and
 ‘ *foclish*, and will not receive Counsel, and learn
 ‘ Wisdom to discharge his Duty.

* *Stephen Marshall's Fast-Sermon before the*
Commons, Decemb. 30. 1646. p. 44. [Mem-
ber of the Assembly of Divines, and one of
Mr. Neal's eminent Divines.]

‘ *Agag* comes forth delicately and confidently
 ‘ too; surely faith he, the Bitterness of Death is
 ‘ passed; and presently he is *hewed to pieces by the*
 ‘ *People in Gilgal.*’

Obadiab Sedgwick's Fast-Sermon before the
Commons, October 2. 1644. p. 13. [Mem-
ber of the Assembly, and one of Mr. Neal's
eminent Divines, p. 595.]

‘ And verily, Brethren, the Lord himself in that
 ‘ day of our Battle, seem'd to decide the great
 ‘ Doubt, and resolve the Question, which Side was
 ‘ right, whose Cause was his, who were for him,
 ‘ and who against him.’

* ‘ *Stephen Marshall* did once petition the King for a *Dean-*
 ‘ *ery*, and at another time for a *Bishoprick*, which because he could
 ‘ not obtain, as the King told him at *Holdenby*, where he at-
 ‘ tended upon the Commissioners, therefore he would overthrow
 ‘ all.’ *An Apology for the Bishops, &c.*

In a Sermon before Sir *Arthur Hazelrig* at *Newcastle*, ‘ he
 ‘ told the Congregation, That if now they would stand firm, rather
 ‘ than the Army should want the Countenance of a Lord to cre-
 ‘ dit them, the *Lord of Hosts* should be voted General.’ *Mercu-*
rius Pragmaticus, by *Marchamont Needham*, N^o. 1. 1648.
 p. 7.

Sedgwick's

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Sedgwick's Thanksgiving-Sermon, before the Commons, April 19. 1644. p. 21.

- ' What a sad thing is it, my Brethren, to see our
- ' King at the head of an Army of *Babylonians*, re-
- ' fusing to be called King of *England, Scotland*, and
- ' *Ireland*, chusing rather to be called King of *Ba-*
- ' *bylon?*'

Cafe's Thanksgiving-Sermon, before the Commons, August 22. 1645. p. 18. [Member of the Assembly.]

- ' The *Psalmist* takes notice what God doth, in
- ' breaking the Power of mighty Princes, turn'd
- ' *Oppressors* and *Tyrants*, in making them, *Cain* like,
- ' *Vagabonds*, to wander up and down in desert and
- ' hungry Places.

Cafe's Thanksgiving-Sermon, Feb. 19. 1645. p. 2.

- ' It were a sad thing, that the Strong Holds of the
- ' Kingdom, should be taken for God, and kept for
- ' the Devil.' *Ibid. p. 31.*

- ' Here you see was *Pharaoh*, and all his malig-
- ' nant Courtiers and Subjects opposing and obstruct-
- ' ing *Israel's* Deliverance: yea, when they had got
- ' loose, arming all the *Militia* of *Egypt*, and put-
- ' ting them in array to reduce *Israel* again into their
- ' old Servitude and Bondage. And I wish he had
- ' been the last *Pharaoh*, who was drown'd in the
- ' *Red-Sea*. There arose up after him *Pharaohs*
- ' in every Age of the Church, *that knew not the*
- ' *Lord.*'

Cafe's Fast-Sermon before the Peers, March 26. 1646. p. 8. entitled, The Set-Backs of Reformation.

- ' You shall find, that the want of due Execu-
- ' tion upon Delinquents, has obstructed, if not
- ' dashed hopeful beginnings in the Church's Deli-
- ' verance. *Saul* spares *Agag*, and 'tis a present stop
- ' in the Work; and had like to have been the at-
- ' ter

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‘ter Ruin of the whole Seed of the *Jews*; and how
‘*Abab* sped for sparing *Benbadad*, Story will tell
‘you.’ *Ibid*, p. 21.

‘Execute Judgment impartially; to hang a poor
‘Soldier for running from his Colours, may have a
‘piece of Justice in it: But it was *Saul*’s sparing
‘of *Agag*, that rent his Kingdom from him.’

Dr. Stanton’s Fast-Sermon before the Lords,
October 30. 1644. p. 22. [Member of the
Assembly, *Neal* 593.]

‘Physicians, by way of Revulsion, stop Bleeding
‘by letting of Blood; and did *England* bleed enough
‘in the malignant Vein, we have cause to think,
‘that other sad Issues of Blood would be stopped
‘and stanch’d. *Ibid*. p. 26.

‘Do Justice to the greatest; *Saul*’s Sons are not
‘spared, no not *Agag*, nor *Benbadad*, tho’ them-
‘selves Kings; *Zimri* and *Cosbi*, tho’ Princes of
‘the People, must be pursued into their Tents: this
‘is the way to consecrate yourselves to God.

Herle’s Fast-Sermon before the Commons, *No-*
vember 15. 1644. [Member of the Assem-
bly, *Neal*, p. 593.]

‘A hard-hearted *Pharaoh*, a wicked *Herod*, may
‘have some Fits of Goodness, some fleshly Purpo-
‘poses, and Promises for God; and yet the Bent
‘of the Heart be engaged in evil ways.’

Tho. Hill’s Fast-Sermon before the two Houses,
August 13. 1644. p. 21. [Member of the
Assembly, *Neal*, p. 593.]

‘Court-Shakings are such, as God makes such
‘State-Quacks, and Church-Quacks, that all the
‘People of the Land, and the Fundamental Laws
‘of the Nation, shake together.’

Whitaker’s Fast-Sermon before the Commons,
January 25. 1642. p. 8. [Member of the
Assembly of Divines.]

‘If

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‘ If a King of the *Protestant* Profession, should
‘ give his Strength and Power to a Queen a *Papist*,
‘ and she give it to the *Jesuits*, to the *Beast*; it is
‘ neither Rebellion nor Treason to fight for the
‘ King, to recover his Power out of the hands of
‘ the *Beast*.’

* *Cheyne*’s Fast-Sermon before the Commons,
May 31. 1643. p. 10. [Member of the
Assembly of Divines.]

‘ Wilt thou have *Jesus Christ* for thy Antiquity,
‘ for thy Nobility, for thy Husband, thy King,
‘ thy Prophet, thy Saviour, thy All? *Jesus Christ*
‘ will bind Kings in Chains, and Nobles in Fetters of
‘ Iron; he will pour Contempt upon Princes, if
‘ they contemn him.’

Cheyne’s Fast-Sermon, before the Lords, Mar.
26. 1645. p. 53.

‘ It is better to live under a *Nero*, than under a
‘ *Nerva*; where nothing is lawful, (for a cruel Ty-
‘ rant seeks only his own Advantage in any Man’s
‘ Wrack) than where all Things are lawful: Many
‘ Ruffians abusing the Sloth of a careless Prince,
‘ who will be sure to do nothing well, because they
‘ may do whatsoever they will.’

John Foxcroft’s Fast-Sermon before the Com-
mons, December 31. 1648. p. 4. [Member
of the Assembly.]

‘ Neither let your Eyes spare, tho’ they are Great
‘ Ones that are guilty. Princes have not any licence

* This *Cheyne*, when the Body of the very learned *Chillingworth* was carried to *Chichester* to be interr’d, stood at the Grave ready to receive it, with the Author’s Book of *The True Religion of Protestants*, in his hand. Who, when the Company were all settled, made a ridiculous Speech, and in conclusion, throwing the Book insultingly on the Corps in the Grave, said thus: ‘ Get thee gone then, thou cursed Book; which hast seduced
‘ so many precious Souls; get thee gone, thou corrupt rotten Book,
‘ Earth to Earth, and Dust to Dust; get thee gone into the Place
‘ of Rotteness, that thou mayst rot with thy Author, and see Cor-
‘ ruption.’ *Kenner*’s History of England, Vol. III. p. 144.

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‘ to offend: *Queens* themselves have no *Obstante* for
 ‘ Sin. ’Tis the Misery of Greatness, the Offence is
 ‘ as great as the Offender, the Sin as sovereign as the
 ‘ Person: great Persons do not so much commit Sin,
 ‘ as teach it: their Disobedience is ever *masculine*, and
 ‘ begets Followers. The highest Court may reach
 ‘ the highest Person. Causes, not Persons, are to
 ‘ be heard in your Parliament.’

Rich. Heyrick's Fast-Sermon before the Com-
 mons, *May 27, 1646.* p. 84. [Member of
 the Assembly.]

‘ I beseech you to be impartial in doing Justice;
 ‘ and let not the great Flies break through the
 ‘ Web, whilst the little ones are entangled: to
 ‘ spare the great Birds, and destroy the small, (not
 ‘ so hurtful) is no good Justice. There are many
 ‘ wonder, there are no more Delinquents called to
 ‘ the Bar. Take heed you spare not *Brother Ben-*
 ‘ *badad*, lest you and the Kingdom fare the worse
 ‘ for it; as the Prophet told *Ahab*, [*1 Kings xx. 42.*]
 ‘ *Because thou hast let go a Man whom I had appoin-*
 ‘ *ted to Destruction; thy Life shall go for his Life,*
 ‘ *and thy People for his People.* I beseech you think
 ‘ of this, and be impartial.’

Richard Kentish's Fast-Sermon before the Com-
 mons, *November 24. 1647.* p. 32.

‘ Those mine Enemies that would not that I
 ‘ should reign over them, bring hither and slay
 ‘ them before me: let me see them executed;
 ‘ *Kings, Rulers, People* who conspire against the
 ‘ Lord, and against his Anointed.’

Maynard before the Commons, *October 28,*
 1646. p. 25. [Member of the Assembly of
 Divines.]

‘ When Kings turn Seducers, they seldom want
 ‘ good store of Followers: now if the Blind lead
 ‘ the Blind, they shall both fall into a Ditch.

‘ When

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‘ When Kings command unrighteous things, and
‘ People suit them with willing Compliance, none
‘ doubts but the Destruction of them both is just
‘ and righteous.’

Dr. *John Owen*’s Fast-Sermon before the Commons, *January 31, 1648.* p. 5.

‘ If the Kingdom be divided, that is nothing
‘ but *Reboboam*’s Folly, and ill Counsel of ill-ad-
‘ vised Courtiers. If *Israel* make war upon *Judab*,
‘ and *Judab* upon *Israel*, that is only Policy to
‘ keep down one another. If there be a Civil
‘ War, that is through the Faction of potent
‘ Statesmen. If a Foreigner invades them, it is
‘ nothing but the Pride of ambitious Tyrants, that
‘ seek after Greatness in the Ruin of other King-
‘ doms.’

Nich. Proffet’s Sermon before the Commons,
September 25, 1644. p. 9. [Member of the
Assembly.]

‘ The Man who selleth his Religion for his pri-
‘ vate Ends, will sell his Country, his Parliament,
‘ his Laws, and Liberties of his Kingdom. Will
‘ he put the Law of God, and the Crown and
‘ Sceptre of that Princely Lord Jesus to the Mar-
‘ ket; and will he stick for his Court to sell the
‘ Laws of *England*, and will he not forfeit you all,
‘ and your Parliament and Liberties?’

* *Rutherford*’s Fast-Sermon before the Com-
mons, *January 31, 1643.* p. 6. [Commis-
sioner for *Scotland*.]

* This was the *Scotch* Clergyman who wrote that scandalous
Republican Tract, intitled, *Lex, Rex*, 4to, published 1644. To
show this Gentleman’s Principles, the following Passages may
suffice. ‘ The People, because they create the Man King, they
‘ are so above the King, and have a virtual Power to compel
‘ him to do his Duty.’ *Lex, Rex*, p. 101. ‘ Tho’ God can
‘ immediately, without any Action of the People, make Kings,
‘ this is a weak Reason to prove they cannot *unmake* them.’
Id. p. 146.

‘ The

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‘ The Lord will not always be bearded and out-braved by Man, but will even strike through Kings in the Day of his Wrath.’

Reyner's Fast-Sermon before the Commons, August 28, 1644. p. 27.

‘ Execute Judgment: if the Lord see the want of Judgment amongst us, ’twill displease him. By this *Phinebas* turn'd away Wrath from *Israel*. And who knows what you may do for *England*, if you be not wanting in this? The Execution of Judgment is the Lord's Work, and they shall be cursed that shall do it negligently: and cursed shall they be, who keep the Sword from Blood in this Cause. You know the Story of God's Message by the Prophet to *Abab*, for letting go *Benhadad*; *Because thou hast let go a Man whom I had appointed to Destruction, therefore thy Life shall go for his Life, and thy People for his People.*’

Strickland before the Lords, November 5, 1644. p. 26. [Member of the Assembly.]

‘ *Balaam* may engross the Promotions of *Moab*, (as the temporizing Clergy of late the Dignities of our Church) but on saucy Terms. They must come then and curse *England*, as it were with *Bell, Book, and Candle*. *Micaiah* may have the Court-Favours, but he must frame his Mouth in the flattering Vein, and comply with the false Prophets, in carrying the King with lying Visions to his Destruction. *Elijah* himself need not despair of being Chaplain to Queen *Jezabel*, could he but bate of his fiery Zeal, and take the Priests of *Baal* for his Comrades.’

Tesdale's Fast-Sermon before the Commons, August 28, 1644. p. 8. [Member of the Assembly.]

‘ After God had rejected *Saul* for his Disobedience from being King over *Israel*, and had declared

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clared his Purpose unto him by *Samuel*, an evil Spirit of Fury, Jealousy, and Tyranny came upon him.'

George Walker's Fast-Sermon before the Commons, *January 29, 1644.* p. 10.

' 'Tis likely our Enemies would conclude a Peace with us on those Terms, as *Nabash* the *Ammonite* did with the Men of *Jabesh*: if we would let our Enemies put out our Eyes, keep us in Ignorance, that we should not see when the Orthodox Religion is turning to *Papish* Superstition; when a mixt Monarchy is aiming at an absolute Tyranny. Grant them this, and they will grant you a Peace, such a one as it is.'

* *Love's* Sermon at *Uxbridge*, *January 30, 1645.* called *England's Distemper*, p. 36.

' *Asa*

* ' This poor Man *Love*, (says *Lord Clarendon*, Vol. III. p. 338.) who had been guilty of as much Treason against the King, from the beginning of the Rebellion, as the Pulpit could contain; was so much without Remorse for any Wickedness of that kind that he had committed, that he was jealous of nothing so much as of being suspected to repent, or that he was brought to suffer for his Affection to the King. And therefore, when he was upon the Scaffold, where he appeared with a marvellous Undauntedness, he seemed so much delighted with the Memory of all that he had done against the late King, and against the Bishops, that he could not even then forbear to speak with Animosity and Bitterness against both, and expressed a great Satisfaction of Mind for what he had done against them, and was much transported with the inward Joy of Mind that he felt, in being brought thither to die a Martyr, and to give Testimony for the Covenant. And in his raving Fit, without so much as praying for the King, otherwise than that he might propagate the Covenant, he laid his Head upon the Block, with as much Courage as the bravest and honestest Man could do in the most pious Occasion.' And Mr. *Echard* [Hist. Vol. II. p. 706.] informs us, ' That *Nelson* takes notice of a providential Vengeance upon him: For it happened, that two or three Gentlemen, formerly of the late King's Army, travelling upon the Northern Road, met with the Post that carried this very Letter, and enquiring of him, whether he had any *Scotch Letters*, he innocently replied,

‘ *Aſa* was commended, becauſe he removed
 ‘ *Maacha* from being *Queen*, becauſe ſhe was an
 ‘ *Idolatreſs*. I may ſay, what *Jehu* ſaid to *Foram*,
 ‘ What Peace can there be, ſo long as the Whore-
 ‘ doms of *Jezabel* the Queen remain?” *Ib.* p. 37.

‘ Is Peace and Truth the Ingredients that muſt
 ‘ heal us? Oh! then doat not too much upon
 ‘ this Treaty of Peace, (which is this day begin-
 ‘ ning) as if, without all peradventure, this Treaty
 ‘ muſt heal all our Diſtempers, &c. Alas! Belo-
 ‘ ved, there is a great Gulph between our Enemies
 ‘ and us; there are a Generation of Men, that
 ‘ cannot endure ſuch corroding Corroſives, and
 ‘ purging Phyſick, as God in my Text preſcribes
 ‘ Men, who are neither Lovers of Peace nor Truth.
 ‘ Is it likely to have Peace with ſuch Men as theſe?
 ‘ Whilſt they continue thus, we can as ſoon make
 ‘ Fire and Water to agree; yea, I had almoſt ſaid,
 ‘ reconcile Heaven and Hell, as their Spirits and
 ‘ ours.

‘ ‘Tis the Sword, not Diſputes nor Treaties, that
 ‘ muſt end this Controverſy: therefore *turn your*
 ‘ *Plow-Shares into Swords, and your Pruning-Hooks*
 ‘ *into Spears*, to fight the Lord’s Battles, to a-
 ‘ venge the Blood of Saints that hath been ſpilt.
 ‘ It muſt be avenged either by us, or upon us;

‘ ply’d, *He had*. At which, excited by an unuſual Curioſity,
 ‘ they took the Poſt into a convenient place, out of the Road,
 ‘ and opening the *Scotch Mail*, they found this Letter of Re-
 ‘ prieve and Pardon for *Love*; upon the reading of which, one
 ‘ of them immediately cry’d out, *Oh! that is the Rogue that*
 ‘ *ruined us, by breaking the Treaty at Uxbridge*; and thereupon
 ‘ putting the Letter in his Pocket, they reſtored the reſt to the
 ‘ Poſt, telling him, *There were his Letters again*; and immedi-
 ‘ ately mounting, they purſued their intended Journey. The
 ‘ Mail arriving at *London*, and Letters from *Cromwell* to ſeveral
 ‘ Perſons, without one word concerning *Love*; the Party took
 ‘ it for granted, that this Silence was deſigned as an abſolute
 ‘ Denial, &c. Therefore they ordered him to ſuffer upon *Tower-*
 ‘ *hill*, the 22d Day of *Auguſt*.”

‘ *Curſed*

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‘Curst be he that doth the Work of the Lord negligently; and curst be he that keepeth back his Sword from Blood.’

Love’s Appeal, by way of Apology, before his Sermon at *Uxbridge*, p. 7.

Many of these Passages are taken from the Sermons of Mr. *Neal’s Puritanical Heroes*; and for that reason, he cannot except against them. And I challenge him to produce above one single Instance from their publick Sermons, where there is a religious Observation of that Maxim, *That the King can do no Wrong*, as asserted by Mr. *Baxter*. There is but one Instance of this kind, that I can find in the Sermons preached before the two Houses; and that is of Mr. *Nathaniel Ward*, who spoke favourably of the King, and of bringing him back again to his Parliament, in the following Words: [Fast-Sermon before the Commons, *June 30, 1647.* printed without any Order of that House:] ‘Let us lament and mourn for our Royal Sceptre, that he is weakened, and unfitted to rule; let us lament his personal Sorrows; Pity should be shewn to him that is in Affliction; let us lament that he is deprived of his Royal Consort, and Children, the Supports and Delights of Nature, the sweet Objects of Human Affection; deprived of his wonted Honour and Attendance, his Nobility and Compeers; deprived of his wonted menial Servants, and attended with military Guards, (unwelcome and ungrateful to him;) deprived of his wonted Liberty: these things must needs make him a *Man of Sorrows*; however his Heart is supported, he cannot but look upon himself as a Man under God’s *Black Rod*. If God would soften our Hearts, to lament him as we ought, it is probable he would soften his Heart to lament his Subjects as he ought.’ They did not present him with a piece of Plate, as usual, (especially

cially where Treason and Rebellion were the main Drift of the Discourse) nor desire him to print his Sermon, or return him Thanks *for the great Pains he took*, according to Custom: a Favour that I am confident was scarce ever refused to any one before, in the Compass of seven Years; as appears from a compleat Collection of the Sermons before the two Houses, from November 1640, to February 1648, now in the publick Library at Cambridge.

And John Milton contradicts Mr. Baxter's Assertion, in his *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*: * 'They [viz. the Presbyterians] were most zealous to take Arms against the King, to divest and disanoint him of his Dignity; nay, to curse him in all their Sermons, and Pamphlets over the Kingdom, whereof there remain numerous Monuments still to be produced.'

Neal, p. 607. *A Spirit of English Liberty had been growing in the Nation for some Years, and the late Oppressions, instead of extinguishing it, had only kept it under ground, till having collected more Strength, it broke out with greater Violence. The Patriots of the Constitution watched all Opportunities to recover it; and when they obtain'd a Parliament by the Interposition of the Scots, were ready to take too severe a Revenge upon their late Oppressors, and to enter upon too violent Measures, in order to prevent the return of Power into those Hands that had so shamefully abused it.*

Lord Hollis, who was one of the five impeach'd Members, and consequently no *High Flyer*, gives the following Instance of *Patriotism*, in Mr. Neal's Parliament of Patriots. † 'The House of Lords, (says he) in the Summer after the beginning of our Troubles, in 1643, having resolved to deliver themselves and the Kingdom from this *Ægypt*

* Milton's Life before his Prose Works, p. 24.

† Memoirs, p. 9.

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‘ *tian* Slavery, had prepared a Message to the King,
‘ with Overtures for an Accommodation, and sent it
‘ down to the House of Commons on a *Saturday*,
‘ where the major part seem’d to be of the same
‘ Mind; and after a long Dispute, and much Op-
‘ position, prevail’d to take it into consideration,
‘ made an Entrance into it, agreed to some Par-
‘ ticulars; and it growing late, adjourn’d the far-
‘ ther Debate till *Monday* Morning: against which
‘ time, these *Firebrands* had set the City in a flame,
‘ as if there were a Resolution to betray all to the
‘ King; and thereupon brought down the Rabble
‘ of their Party, some thousands, to the House
‘ of Commons Door, who gave out threatening
‘ Speeches, and named among themselves (but so
‘ as they might be heard) some Members of the
‘ House, whom they said they look’d upon as En-
‘emies, and would pull out of the House. Which
‘ did so terrify many honest timorous Men, and
‘ gave that Boldness to the others, as, contrary to
‘ all Order, they resumed the Question that was
‘ settled on *Saturday*, for going on with the Busi-
‘ness, and at last carried it by some Voices, to
‘ have it laid aside. Which was the highest Strain
‘ of Insolency, the greatest Violation of Authority
‘ and Freedom (the two essential Ingredients of a
‘ Parliament) that before that was ever known.
‘ Since, I confess the Army has outstrip’d it.’

After a Palliation of almost every Action of the
Parliament, how incapable of Defence soever; and
enumerating what he calls Oppressions, by the King,
or his Ministers; p. 610. he makes the following
kind Observation: *Had not the King suspended and*
broke through the Laws of the Land for twelve Years,
before the sitting of this present Parliament? This
is only affirmed, and not hitherto proved; nay, it
has been sufficiently disproved already:

Neal, ibid. And did not his Majesty yield to the new Laws, with a manifest Reluctancy? Did he not affect to call them Acts of Grace?

And what if he did? they were in reality so, as his too many Concessions, which paved a Way to his Destruction, manifestly showed.

Neal, ibid. Bishop Burnet, in his History of his Life and Times, says, That his Majesty never came into his Concessions seasonably, nor with a good Grace; all appeared to be extorted from him, and there were Grounds to believe, that he intended not to stand to them any longer, than he lay under that Force that visibly drew them upon him, contrary to his own Inclinations.

If the same individual Bishop Burnet has elsewhere contradicted this, I hope he will allow, that his Opinion in this place ought to stand for nothing. In one of his Books, he speaks as follows:
 * ‘ I shall not engage farther between the King and
 ‘ the two Houses, than to shew, that his Majesty
 ‘ had the Law clearly on his side, since he not only
 ‘ consented to the Redress of all Grievances, for
 ‘ which the least Colour of Law was alledged, but
 ‘ had also yielded to larger Concessions, to secure
 ‘ the Fears of the Subject, than had been granted
 ‘ by all the Kings of *England* since the Conquest;
 ‘ yet their Demands were unsatisfied, unless his
 ‘ Majesty had consented to the abolishing Episco-
 ‘ pacy, and the Discharge of the Liturgy; which
 ‘ neither the Laws of *England*, nor his Conscience
 ‘ allowed of: so that the following War cannot be
 ‘ said to have gone on the Principles of defending
 ‘ Religion, since his Majesty was invading no part
 ‘ of the established Religion. And in *Scotland* his
 ‘ Majesty had settled all Matters to their Hearts
 ‘ desire; and by many frequent and solemn Decla-

* Bishop Burnet's four Conferences, printed at *Glasgow*, p. 24.

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‘rations, declared his Resolutions of observing in-
‘violably that Agreement.

* ‘’Twas a strange thing (*says he*) to see a
‘Prince who had great Virtues, and eminent
‘Piety, of the same Religion with his Subjects,
‘and had never put any of them unjustly to death,
‘so oppressed by a prevalent Faction.’

Neal, p. 615. *If in the Judgment of the Majority of the House of Lords and Commons, the Kingdom was in imminent danger of the return of Popery and arbitrary Power, and his Majesty would not condescend so much as to a temporary Security for their Satisfaction; then we must conclude, that the Cause of the Parliament, at the setting out of the War, and some Years after, was not only justifiable, but commendable and glorious.*

Or to put it in other Words: As the King (who had been already but too liberal in his Concessions, had divested himself of too many of his Rights) would not wholly give up his Sovereign Power, and every thing else into their hands, they were in the right to rebel, and their Rebellion was *commendable and glorious*.

Neal, *ibid*. *Especially if we may believe their solemn Protestation, in the presence of Almighty God, to the Kingdom and the whole World; That no private Passion or Respect, no evil Intention to his Majesty's Person, no Designs to the prejudice of his just Honour or Authority, had engaged them to raise Forces, and take up Arms against the Authors of this War, in which the Kingdom was inflamed.*

Did Mr. *Neal* never hear of any Criminal's solemnly protesting his Innocence at the Bar, upon his Trial? Tho' the Comparison may not agree in every Particular, yet I shall leave him to judge in what respect the Cases may possibly resemble each other. 'Tis apparent, that from the first, the In-

* Preface to the *Memoirs of Duke Hamilton*, p. 3.

tention of their *Leaders* was against both the *Monarch* and *Monarchy*, as has, I think, already been sufficiently proved. Mr. *Echard* informs us, * ' That among the Enemy's Baggage at *Edgehill*, were taken the Letters of one *Blake* in the King's Army, who duely gave Intelligence of what passed to the other Party, and particularly in what part of the Army the *King fought*, that they might better direct their Bullets at so illustrious a Mark; for which Treachery, he was hanged on the next Tree.' Lord *Hollis* indeed observes, † ' That in passing of *Fairfax's* Commission, they made their first plain Discovery of their Intention concerning the *Person of the King*; for with a great deal of Violence and Earnestness they pressed it, and carried it, || *That the Care of the Preservation of his Person should be left out*; and that this Army should go out in the name of the *Parliament alone*, and not of ‡ *King and Parliament*,

* *Echard's History of England*, Vol. II. p. 353. See a Tract intitled; *Veritas inconcussa*, by *Fabian Phillips*, p. 79. *Presbyterian Unmask'd*, p. 107. *Symmons's Vindication of King Charles I.* p. 143.

† Lord *Hollis's Memoirs*, p. 34.

|| The Commission granted to *Fairfax*, *Die Veneris*, 14 Junii, 1650. (the Original still in being, and in the Custody of Dr. *Philip Williams*, President of *St. John's College, Cambridge*) from the *Rump Parliament*; had he complied with it, (as I am not sure whether he did or no) would have proved, that he was capable of taking a Commission, upon the Terms mentioned by Lord *Hollis*, or any other Terms whatsoever. If we may believe *Ludlow*, [*Memoirs*, Vol. I. p. 316.] he had a Pension of 5000 *l. per Annum*, after he gave up his Commission.

‡ In the Commission granted to the Earl of *Essex*, to be General of the *Parliament Forces*, are the following Words: ' The Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, according to the Duty and Trust which was upon them, (for Prevention of those great Mischiefs, and Preservation of the Safety of his Majesty's Person, the Peace of the Kingdom, and Defence of the Parliament) have resolved and ordained, that an Army be forthwith raised; and that the Train'd-Bands, and other

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ment, as it was before under my Lord *Essex*, who would not otherwise have meddled with it. But *this General* made no Bones, took it, and thank'd them; resolved, it seems, to do whatsoever these his *Masters* should bid him.' 'Twas this famous *Parliament*, that in 1647 voted, That no farther Addresses should be made to the King, upon his Refusal to sign four Bills, absolutely destructive of his Sovereignty. Which Proceeding (says Bishop * *Kennet*) was of such infinite Scandal to all indifferent People, who had yet Reason, and a Conscience left within them, that Discontents and Murmurs grew very high, and many Pamphlets were now published, that shewed the *Parliament* to be the great Grievance of the Nation; such as, *The Parliament's Ten Commandments*, &c. Another intitled, *The New Testament of our Lords and Saviours, the House of Commons, sitting at Westminster*; and several others: the *Parliament* in vain burning the Books, and bidding Money for the Discovery of the Authors of them.'

But how desirous of Peace the King was, the Conclusion of his Letter to the Prince, (in which he gives an Account of the Treaty in the Isle of *Wight*) which Bishop *Kennet* says, † *deserves to be preserved in Letters of Gold*, plainly discovers.

|| 'By what has been said, you see how long we have laboured in the search of Peace: do not you be disheartened to tread in the same Steps.

other Forces of the Kingdom, be put into a Posture and Condition, fit to oppose and resist any Force or Insurrection by *Papists*, or ill-affected Persons, against the publick Peace and Laws of the Kingdom, however countenanced by any pretended Commission from his Majesty.' Mr. *Peck's Desiderata Curiosa*, Vol. II. Lib. 8. p. 35. published 1735.

* *Compleat History of England*, Vol. III. p. 159.

† *Ibid.* p. 165.

|| *Id. ib.*

‘ Use all worthy ways to restore yourself to your
‘ Right, but prefer the Way of Peace. Shew the
‘ Greatness of your Mind, if God bless you, (and
‘ let us comfort you with that which is our own
‘ Comfort, that though Affliction may make us
‘ pass under the Censures of Men, yet we look
‘ upon it so, as if it procure not by God’s Mercy
‘ to us a Deliverance, it will to you a Blessing) ra-
‘ ther to conquer your Enemies by pardoning than
‘ punishing. If you saw how unmanly and un-
‘ christian the implacable Disposition is in our Ill-
‘ wishers, you would avoid that Spirit. Censure
‘ us not for having parted from so much of our
‘ own Right; the Price was great, but the Com-
‘ modity was Security to us, Peace to our People;
‘ and we were confident another Parliament would
‘ remember how useful a King’s Power is to a
‘ People’s Liberty; of how much thereof we di-
‘ vested ourself, that we and they might meet once
‘ again in a due parliamentary way, to agree the
‘ Bounds of Prince and People. And in this give
‘ Belief to our Experience, never to affect more
‘ Greatness or Prerogative, than that which is really
‘ and intrinsically for the good of Subjects, not the
‘ satisfaction of Favourites. If you thus use it,
‘ you will never want Means to be a Father to all,
‘ and a bountiful Prince to any you would be ex-
‘ traordinary gracious to. You may perceive all
‘ Men entrust their Treasure where it returns them
‘ Interest; and if Princes like the Sea receive and
‘ repay all the fresh Streams the River intrusts with
‘ them, they will not grudge, but pride themselves,
‘ to make up an Ocean. These Considerations
‘ may make you as great a Prince, as your Fa-
‘ ther is now a low one; and your Estate may be
‘ so much the more established, as mine hath been
‘ shaken: for our Subjects have learned, we dare
‘ say,

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‘ say, That Victories over their Princes, are but
‘ Triumphs over themselves; so will be more
‘ unwilling to hearken to Changes hereafter: the
‘ *English* Nation are a sober People, however at
‘ present infatuated.

‘ We know not but this may be the last time we
‘ may speak to you, or the World publickly; we
‘ are sensible into what hands we are fallen, and
‘ yet we bless God we have those inward Refresh-
‘ ments, the Malice of our Enemies cannot perturb.
‘ We have learned to busy our self by retiring into
‘ our self, and therefore can the better digest what
‘ befalls us; not doubting, but that God’s Provi-
‘ dence can restrain our Enemies Power, and turn
‘ their Fierceness to his Praise.

‘ To conclude, if God gives you Success, use it
‘ humbly, and far from Revenge. If He restore
‘ you to your Right upon hard Conditions, what-
‘ ever you promise, keep. These Men, who have
‘ forced Laws, that they were bound to preserve,
‘ will find their Triumph full of Troubles. Do
‘ not think any thing in this World worth the ob-
‘ taining by foul and unjust Means.

‘ You are the Son of our Love; and as we di-
‘ rect you to weigh what we here recommend to
‘ you, so we assure you, we do not more affectionately
‘ pray for you (to whom we are a natural Parent)
‘ than we do, that the ancient Glory and Renown
‘ of this Nation be not buried in Irreligion and
‘ *Phanatic* Humour, and that all our Subjects (to
‘ whom we are a natural Parent) may have such
‘ sober Thoughts, as to seek their Peace in the Or-
‘ thodox Profession of the *Christian* Religion, as was
‘ established since the Reformation in this Kingdom,
‘ and not in new Revelations; and that the ancient
‘ Laws, with the Interpretation, according to the
‘ known Practice, may once again be a Hedge about
‘ them;

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‘ them; that you may in due time govern, and
 ‘ they be governed as in the Fear of God; which
 ‘ is the Prayer of

‘ Your very loving Father,

Newport, Nov. 25,
 1648.

C. R.

I will now conclude this Answer, with a Character of this glorious Monarch, (whom *Mr. Neal* has made it his Business to blacken and asperse in every Page) taken from the Testimony both of Friends and Enemies.

* *Lord Clarendon's* great Character of him, is too long to be inserted in this place; which he concludes in the following Words: ‘ To conclude, he
 ‘ was the worthiest Gentleman, the best Master,
 ‘ the best Friend, the best Father, and the best
 ‘ *Christian*, that the Age in which he lived produced. And if he were not the greatest King,
 ‘ if he were without some Parts and Qualities, that
 ‘ made some Kings great, and happy, no other
 ‘ Prince was ever unhappy, who was possessed of
 ‘ half his Virtues and Endowments, and so much
 ‘ without any kind of Vice.’

Dr. (afterwards Bishop) *Brownrigg* [in a Sermon before the University of Cambridge, March 7, 1644.] says: ‘ Let us acknowledge our Happiness, who have no *Pharaoh* for our King, one
 ‘ that feareth not the Lord, but one who both religiously knoweth and feareth God. Did *England*
 ‘ ever know a Prince more frequent, constant, and
 ‘ attentive in the Worship of God? ’Tis a commendable thing in a private Person, much more
 ‘ in a King, to keep his daily and constant Hours
 ‘ of Prayer, to bring his Children up in the Worship of God, to teach them betimes to know the

* History of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 197, 198, 199.

‘ God

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‘ God of their Fathers. Survey the World, and
‘ see how many Princes your Thoughts can present
‘ you with, surely their Names may be written in
‘ a small Compass; we may, and should boast of
‘ God’s Mercy, all *Christendom* cannot afford such
‘ an other.’

Dr. *Welwood*’s Character of him, (who was no
High Flyer, no Enemy to the Constitution) is this:
* ‘ In his Temper he was grave, magnificent, liberal,
‘ and constant; but more affable to Strangers
‘ than his own Subjects. It was his noble and
‘ generous Behaviour, that took so much with the
‘ King of *Spain*, that he rejected the repeated Solicitations
‘ of his Council to seize him, and paid him
‘ more Respect than could have been well expected,
‘ had he been King of *England* at that time. Of
‘ his Composure of Mind in the greatest Danger,
‘ he gave a notable Instance, by his Behaviour in
‘ that great Storm at *St. Andrees*, which was worthy
‘ the ancient *Philosophers*: nor did he fall short
‘ in the bravest personal Courage, having exposed
‘ his Person in every Battle he was in; and oftentimes
‘ charged at the head of his Squadrons. He
‘ had a good Taste of Learning, and more than
‘ ordinary Skill in the Liberal Arts, especially
‘ Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, and Medals;
‘ and being a generous Benefactor to the most celebrated
‘ Masters in those Arts, he acquired the noblest
‘ Collection of any Prince of his Time,
‘ and more than all the Kings had done before
‘ him. The Essentials of Divinity he was as much
‘ Master of, as ever his Father had been, but without
‘ the Allay of *Pedantry*; of this the Papers
‘ that passed between him, and Mr. *Henderson* at
‘ *Newcastle*, will be a lasting Monument. He was
‘ a great Patron of the Clergy; but his employing
‘ them in the highest Offices of Trust in State-

* *Welwood’s Memoirs*, p. 68.

‘ Matters,

‘ Matters, created Envy against them. He was a
 ‘ passionate Lover of his Queen, fond of his Chil-
 ‘ dren, and kind to his Servants. He spake sever-
 ‘ al Languages very well, and with a singular
 ‘ good Grace: he wrote a tolerable Hand for a
 ‘ King: his Sense was strong, and his Stile *Laconic*.
 ‘ I have seen several Pieces of his own Hand, and
 ‘ therefore may the better affirm, that both for
 ‘ Matter and Form, they surpass those of his ablest
 ‘ Ministers, and come nothing short of *Strafford*,
 ‘ or *Faulkland*, the two celebrated Pens of that
 ‘ Time. As to his Religion, he was a Protestant,
 ‘ in the strictest Sense of the Church of *England*,
 ‘ and for the divine Right of Episcopacy.’

* Bishop Kennet informs us, ‘ That Mr. *Alexan-*
 ‘ *der Henderson*, Minister of the Word of God at
 ‘ *Edinburgh*, and chief Commissioner from the
 ‘ Kirk of *Scotland*, to the Parliament and Synod of
 ‘ *England*, made a solemn Declaration upon his
 ‘ Death-bed, grounded upon the Experience he
 ‘ had in conversing and disputing Matters of Reli-
 ‘ gion with the King; wherein he prays for the
 ‘ good King’s being restored to his just Rights;
 ‘ and among other things, says thus: “ I do de-
 ‘ clare before God and the World, that since I
 ‘ had the Honour and Happiness to converse, and
 ‘ to confer with his Majesty, with all sorts of Free-
 ‘ dom, especially in Matters of Religion, whether
 ‘ in relation to the Kirk or State, that I found
 ‘ him the most intelligent Man that ever I spoke
 ‘ with, as far beyond my Expression as Expecta-
 ‘ tion. I profess, that I was oftentimes astonish’d
 ‘ with the Solidity and Quickness of his Reasoning
 ‘ and Replies, and wondred how *He*, spending his

* *Compleat History of England*, Vol. III. p. 174. Life of Mr. *John Sage*, p. 72. See likewise a Tract, intitled, *Independents Loyalty; or, The most Barbarous Plot to murder his most Sacred Majesty*, p. 19. Printed 1648.

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“ Time in Sports and Recreations, could have attain'd so great a Knowledge; and must confess ingenuously, that I was convinced in Conscience, and knew not how to give him any reasonable Satisfaction; yet the Sweetness of his Disposition is such, that whatever I said was well taken. I must say, that I never met with any Disputant of that mild and calm Temper; which convinced me the more, and made me think, that such Wisdom and Moderation could not be without an extraordinary Measure of Divine Grace. I have heard much of his Carriage towards the Priests in *Spain*; and that King *James* told the Duke of *Buckingham*, upon his going thither, *That he durst venture his Son Charles with all the Jesuits in the World, he knew him to be so well grounded in the Protestant Religion*; but could never believe it before. I observed all his Actions, more particularly those of Devotion, which I must truly say, are more than ordinary. If I should speak of his Justice, Magnanimity, Charity, Sobriety, Chastity, Patience, Humility, and of all his both *Christian* and *Moral* Virtues, I should run myself into a *Panegyric*, and seem to flatter him, to such as do not know him; if the present Condition I lie in, did not exempt me from any Suspicion of worldly Ends, when I expect every Hour to be called from all transitory Vanities to eternal Felicity; and the discharging my Conscience before God and Man, did not oblige me to declare the Truth simply and nakedly, in satisfaction of that I have done ignorantly, altho' not altogether innocently.”

* “ *Mr. Vines*, a very celebrated Man (s ys *Mr. Cart*) among the *Presbyterians*, in the Time of the Rebellion; of whose Sentiments of King *Charles*,

* *The Irish Massacre* set in a true Light, p. 48.

“ after

' after the Treaty of *Uxbridge*, [*Isle of Wight*] take
 ' this Account, as it was given about the Year
 ' 1675, by Mr. *Nathaniel Gilbert* of *Coventry*, in
 ' an Information subscribed by his own hand; the
 ' Original whereof, is in the Custody of my Father
 ' now living in *Leicester*, and Minister of the Church
 ' of *St. Martin's* there, to whose Grandmother the
 ' said *Nathaniel Gilbert* was Half-Brother; and
 ' what I here publish, is taken from an attested
 ' Copy of it, now before me.

' When Mr. *Vines* returned from the Treaty of
 ' *Uxbridge*, [*Isle of Wight*] Mr. *Walden* being at
 ' *London* with Mr. *Nathaniel Gilbert*, News was
 ' brought to them, that Mr. *Vines* was returned;
 ' whereupon they both went to Mr. *Vines*, who,
 ' after usual Ceremonies between Friends, said,
 ' with great Affection, Brother *Walden*, how hath
 ' this Nation been fool'd? We have been told, that
 ' our King is a *Child*, and a *Fool*; but if I under-
 ' stand any thing by my Converse with him, which
 ' I have had with great Liberty, he is as much of
 ' a *Christian Prince*, as ever I read, or heard of,
 ' since our Saviour's Time. He also said, He is a
 ' very precious Prince, and is able of himself to
 ' argue with the ablest Divines we have. Among
 ' the other things affirmed by Mr. *Vines*, my Fa-
 ' ther well remembers, Mr. *Gilbert* told him this
 ' Expression of his, in relation to the King, viz.
 ' That among all the Kings of *Israel* and *Judah*, there
 ' was none like him.'

The next Evidence I shall produce, is *William Lilly*, the famous *Republican Almanack-Maker*, who, tho' he justifies the King's Murder, yet in the same Tract, * intitled, *Monarchy or no Monarchy in England*, printed 1651. (p. 83.) gives this Character of the King: ' That he had many singular Parts in Nature, was a good Mathema-

* *Penes me.*

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‘ tician, well read in Divinity, excellently in History, and no less in the Laws and Statutes of the Realm: he had also, amongst his other special Gifts, that of Patience; so that if any offered to him a long Discourse, he would, without interruption, hear it at length, but then he would expect the same Civility from others. He was a great Admirer of his Queen, a provident Father for his Children, an Enemy to Blood and wilful Murder, and could not, by any Intercession, be induced to sign a Pardon for one *Stamford*, that had killed a Man in *Fleet-street*, notwithstanding he was a Favourite with the Duke of *Buckingham*. He was a perfect Friend, a great Lover of the Clergy, and an Advancer of them; no Courter of Ladies, nor Frequenter of illicite Beds; he honoured the Virtuous, was temperate in his Diet, not given to Luxury in his Food, or Apparel; he was no *Papist*, nor favour’d any of their Tenets.’

My last Evidence is *James Harrington*, Esq; (the famed Author of *The Commonwealth of Oceana*, a thin Folio, dedicated to *Oliver Lord Protector*) who was no *Bigot to Monarchy*. ‘ In the Month of May, he was admitted Groom of the Bed-chamber to the King, with *Thomas Herbert*, then at *Holdenby* in *Northamptonshire*. * ‘ His Majesty had taken notice, (says *Mr. Wood*) that those Persons had followed the Court, since his coming to *Newcastle*; and being satisfied of the Report concerning them, as to their Sobriety and good Education, was willing to receive them into his Service, to wait upon his Person in his Bed-chamber, &c. Whilst our Author *Harrington* was in this Capacity, his Majesty loved his Company, and did choose rather (finding him an ingenious Man) to discourse with him, than others

* *Anthony Wood's Athenæ Oxon.* Vol. II. p. 435. 1st Edit.
‘ of

' of the Chamber. They had often Discourses
 ' concerning Government; but when they hap-
 ' pen'd to talk of a *Commonwealth*, the King
 ' seem'd not to endure it. At that time it was,
 ' that *Harrington* finding his Majesty quite another
 ' Person as to his Parts, Religion, Morals, &c.
 ' than what was represented by the Faction, who
 ' gain'd their Ends by Lyes and Scandals, he be-
 ' came passionately affected with, and took all
 ' Occasions to vindicate him, in what Company
 ' soever he happen'd to be; but then again, it be-
 ' ing sometimes imprudently done, he did suffer
 ' for it in those captious Times, as by this Story
 ' 'twill appear. His Majesty being hurried away
 ' from *Holdenby*, to the head Quarters of the
 ' Army, and from thence conveyed by slow Paces
 ' to *Hampton-Court*, and thence juggled into the
 ' *Isle of Wight*, (where he treated with the Com-
 ' missioners of Parliament for Peace) and from
 ' *Newport* there, carried away by Lieutenant-Co-
 ' lonel *Ralph Cobbet*, to *Hurst-Castle* in *Hampshire*,
 ' on the last of *November* 1648. it happen'd,
 ' that *Harrington*, who was then with his Majesty,
 ' as one of the Grooms of the Chamber, did one
 ' Morning fall into Discourse with the Governour
 ' of that Castle, and some other Officers of the
 ' Parliament-Army, concerning the late Treaty of
 ' *Newport*, wherein he magnified the King's Wis-
 ' dom in his Arguments with the Commissioners,
 ' upon the Propositions for Peace, and Satisfac-
 ' tion the Parliament had in his Concessions, and
 ' probably in a happy Event, if this Force in re-
 ' moving him to *Hurst-Castle* had not intervned,
 ' and made an unhappy Fracture, (which created
 ' Parties;) enlarging also upon his Majesty's learned
 ' Disputes with Mr. *Richard Vines*, and other *Pres-*
 ' *byterian* Divines, with such Moderation, as gain'd
 ' Applause from all those that heard him argue,
 ' Which

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Which Discourse, how inoffensive soever, and without Exception at any other Time or Place, Truth is not at all Times seasonable, nor safe to be spoken, as by our Author's Example was evidenced. For those captious Persons, with whom he held discourse, being full of Jealousy, and apt to wrest his Words to the worst Sense, they withdrew a little, and at their Return, told him plainly, they were dissatisfied at what he had said. He desired them to instance wherein; they replied, in all Particulars: which, when he began to repeat, for his own satisfaction, and their better understanding, they interrupted him, and told him, in plain Terms, they could not suffer his Attendance any longer about the King. With which Proceedings, and Dismiss, without acquainting him with the Occasion, 'twas ill-resented by the King, who had *Harrington* in good esteem, looking upon him as a Gentleman qualified with special Parts, and having found him trusty, his Service was more acceptable. Yet blamed him nevertheless, for not being more wary amongst Men, that were at such a Time full of Jealousies, and very little obliging to his Majesty. Being thus dismiss, and *Herbert* only left to attend the King in his Chamber, I think he was never admitted again, when the King was afterwards conveyed to *Windfor*, and so to *St. James's*. However, he was with him on the Scaffold, when he suffer'd Death, and receiv'd a Pledge of his Majesty's Affection. From that time, always, even when *Oliver* reign'd, he would speak of the said King, with the greatest Zeal and Passion imaginable, and would often say to his Companions, That his Death gave him so great Grief, that he contracted a Disease by it, and that never any thing went more near him, than the Death of that most wise and pious Prince.

These are Characters from *Friends* and *Foes*, from *Churchmen*, *Presbyterians*, and *Republicans*; the worst of them, much less Enemies to the Memory of the *Royal Martyr*, than Mr. *Neal*, who has represented him all along, as a *Favourer of Popery*, and *Arbitrary Principles*; as one who had no regard to his *Word, or Promise*. I pray God forgive him.





APPENDIX.

SINCE this Answer to Mr. *Neal* was finished, two Complaints made by the *Dissenters*, against the Church of *England*, occur'd to me; which, tho' they are in one respect foreign to the purpose of Mr. *Neal's* Book, as not falling within his Period, nor do I charge him with them; yet as they have been frequently urged, both in Print and Discourse, (tho' as frequently answer'd) and as they reflect much upon our establish'd Church, I shall presume upon the Reader's Patience, in taking a Review of them.

And the first of them is this: * ' That the Clergy
' ejected in 1662, were required to declare their un-
' feigned Assent and Consent, to all and every thing
' contain'd and prescrib'd in and by the Book, in-
' titled, *The Book of Common-Prayer, and Admini-*
' *stration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ce-*
' *remonies of the Church, together with the Psalter*
' *or Psalms of David, and the Form or Manner of*
' *Making or Ordaining Bishops, Priests, and Dea-*
' *cons*: and they must also (and that *ex animo*) sub-
' scribe these Words; *That the Book of Common-*

* Dr. *Calamy's* Abridgment of *Baxter's* Life, chap. 10. p. 201. The like Objection made by Mr. *Ben. Robinson* against Dr. *Benner's* brief History of Liturgies. See Bishop *Kennet's* Register, &c. p. 741.

‘ Prayer, and of Ordaining Bishops, Priests, and
 ‘ Deacons, containeth nothing in it contrary to the
 ‘ Word of God; and that it may be lawfully used;
 ‘ and that they themselves would use the Form in the
 ‘ said Books prescribed in Publick Prayer, and Ad-
 ‘ ministration of the Sacraments, and no other.

‘ That the *Act of Uniformity* required, that this
 ‘ Declaration should be publickly made by word
 ‘ of mouth, by all that would keep their Places,
 ‘ on some *Lord’s-day*, before *August 24, 1662, &c.*
 ‘ and the *Subscription* was as *peremptorily required*
 ‘ as the *Declaration*. But they could not herein
 ‘ concur, for two grand Reasons. 1st, Because
 ‘ very few of them could see the Book, to all
 ‘ Things in which, they were to declare their As-
 ‘ sent and Consent, before the Time limited by
 ‘ the *Act* was expired. For the *Common-Prayer*
 ‘ Book, with the Alterations and Amendments
 ‘ (for so they are called, how deservedly, I know
 ‘ not) made by the Convocation, did not come out
 ‘ of the Press, till a few days before the 24th of
 ‘ *August*. So that of seven thousand Ministers in
 ‘ *England* who kept their Livings, few, except
 ‘ those who were in or near *London*, could possibly
 ‘ have a sight of the Book, with its Alterations,
 ‘ till after they had declared their Assent and Con-
 ‘ sent to it. Many of the *Nonconformists* warmly
 ‘ complain’d of it, in their Parting Sermons, when
 ‘ they took their Farewel of their People, at the
 ‘ time of their Ejection. And whatever it might
 ‘ seem then, when Persons were in a manifest Heat,
 ‘ at a distance it appears such a Hardship, as that
 ‘ it is rather to be wonder’d at, that so many could
 ‘ act in so weighty a Matter, upon an implicit
 ‘ Faith, than that such a number should in such
 ‘ Circumstances stand out.’

This is the Objection in its full force, as made
 by a late eminent *Dissenter*; and was it really true
 in

in all its Circumstances, I should be of that learned Gentleman's Opinion, that the Persons ejected by the Act of *Uniformity*, had very hard Usage. But upon Enquiry, I am apt to believe, that things will not appear to be quite so bad as they are here represented; and tho' we have part of the Truth in this Objection, yet some part of it is omitted, (not with design, but for want of knowing better.) Now if I apprehend right, the Objection is attended with more Mistakes than one. For first, I think it is insinuated, that the *Convocation* were dilatory in their Proceedings, and that the Book came out of the Press but a few days before the 24th of *August*, the utmost point of Time granted them to make their Subscription in. Now as to the *Convocation*, we have it from very good Authority, that they had finished their Work long before that Date. * ' For ' their Progress therein, and the several Steps of ' it, will best appear from the Acts of Convocation now printed, from the 25th Session, *November 21, 1661.* in which they receiv'd the ' King's Letter, and Direction to enter upon the ' Review, to the 48th Session, *December 20, 1661.* ' in which the Bishops and Clergy subscribed the ' Book. So that there was time sufficient left to ' print and publish it before the 24th of *August.* ' And we find, by a publick Advertisement given in *London, August 6, 1662,* † ' That in pursuance of the late Act of Uniformity of Publick ' Prayers in the Church of *England*, the Book itself ' is now perfectly and exactly printed; and by the ' great Care and Prudence of the most reverend ' Archbishops, and Bishops, Books in Folio are

* Bishop *Gibson's* Codex, p. 314. Synodus Anglicana, Sess. 48. p. 95. Bishop *Kennet's* Register and Chronicle, &c. p. 643.

† Bishop *Kennet's* Register, &c. (from *Mercurius Publicus*, 4to. No. 31.) p. 514.

‘ provided for all Churches and Chappels in the Kingdom.’ So there were 18 Days left within the Period, a sufficient Time, one would imagine, to have convey’d them to the remotest Parts of the Kingdom. But granting the Fact in this Particular to be as represented, could Dr. Calamy imagine, that the Government would have been so rigorous as to have taken advantage of a Neglect that was unavoidable; or to use his own Words, That the Subscription was as *peremptorily required* as the Declaration? The Fact is plainly otherwise, as he might have been convinced, by a bare Perusal of the subsequent Paragraph in the Act itself; which lodges a discretionary Power with the Ordinary, to enlarge the Time, if there was a Necessity for it. The Words as follow: ‘ *And that all and every such Person (who shall without some lawful Impediment, to be allowed and approved of, by the Ordinary of the Place) neglect or refuse to do the same, within the Time aforesaid, (or in case of such Impediment) within one Month after the Impediment is removed, shall ipso facto be deprived of all his spiritual Privileges.*’ So that where the Books could not be had in time, there was a longer Time to be granted; which was done, no doubt, by all the Bishops where this Impediment happened, and where it was desired. One Instance I meet with of this kind, from a Bishop, who was as rigorous in pressing Conformity as any one; and that was Dr. Laney, Bishop of Peterborough, who dispensed with the Dean and Chapter of that Church, in pursuance of this Clause of the Act of Uniformity, in the following Words: * ‘ Whereas by Act of Parliament made and printed the present Year 1662, for the Uniformity of Publick Prayer, &c. it is enacted, among other things, &c. and that every Person who shall

* Reg. Decan. & Capitul. Petriburgens. MSS. Bishop Kennet’s Register and Chronicle, p. 743.

(without some lawful *Impediment*, to be allowed
 by the Ordinary of the Place) neglect or refuse to
 do the same, within the Time aforesaid, shall be,
ipso facto, deprived of his spiritual Promotion.
 And forasmuch as the Books of Common-Prayer
 appointed by the said Act to be read, could not
 be gotten by the Dean and Prebendaries of the
 Church of *Peterborough*, (so as they might read
 the same in the said Cathedral) before the 17th
 of this instant *August*, being the *Sunday* immedi-
 ately preceding the Feast of St. *Baribolomew*;
 upon which Day, it is not possible that all the
 Members of the said Cathedral Church, should
 read the said Service in Manner and Form, as is
 by the said Act directed: We therefore, by the
 Power given to us by the said Act, do allow and
 approve of the said *Impediment*, and do hereby
 declare it so to be, for the not reading the said
 Service as directed, and for not declaring their
 Consent, as is required in and by the said Act,
 Sealed and Signed the 17th of *August*, 1662.

B. Peterborough.

Nay, 'tis apparent, that the Government was in-
 clined to be favourable to the *Dissenters*, from the
 following Order: * Ordered, That the Lords
 following are appointed to consider, and draw up
 a Clause, or *Proviso*, whereby it may be left to
 the King, to make such Provision, for such of
 the Clergy, as his Majesty shall think fit, who
 shall be *deprived* of their Livings by the Act of
Uniformity, and afterwards to make Report there-
 of to the House.

† *Ib. Die Mercurii*, 9 April, 1662. In the
 House of Lords, the Earl of *Anglesea* reported,

* Bishop *Kenes*'s Register, &c. p. 656.

† *Ib. ib.*

' That the Committee have considered of a *Proviso*,
 ' That such Persons as have been put out of their
 ' Livings, by virtue of the Act of Uniformity,
 ' may have such Allowances out of their Livings,
 ' for their Subsistence, as his Majesty shall think
 ' fit: The said *Proviso* was read, and after some
 ' Debate, a few Alterations made therein; and the
 ' Question being put, Whether this *Proviso*, with
 ' the Amendments, shall stand in the Bill? it was
 ' resolved in the Affirmative.'

So that, upon the whole, it does not appear to me, that the Hardship complain'd of was so great as 'tis represented.

The second Complaint, tho' it carries along with it a less Appearance of Truth, yet we have more Authorities for the Disproof of it. It was a Complaint made against the Church of *England* by the *Dissenters*; That the Reason why they made no better Figure in the *Popish* Controversy, at the latter end of King *Charles II's* Reign, and Beginning of King *James's*, was this, That the Licensers of the Press absolutely refused to license their Books. I desire the Reader will take the Objection in form, as made by one of their own Writers: * *To crown all, we affirm, That the Church of England would not suffer us to publish what we had prepared, and refused to license what little we did publish on that Point, to wit, against Popery.* And adds, *That if he makes this good, the Scandal and Reproach will not lie on the Dissenters, but on the Church of England; tho' he's loth to judge so hard as some do, That the denying them Liberty to appear with Reputation in that Quar-*

* *Palmer's Vindication of the Learning, Loyalty, Morals, and most Christian Behaviour of the Dissenters towards the Church of England*, chap. 4. p. 34. as quoted by Mr. *Westley*, in his Reply to *Palmer's Vindication*, p. 51. See likewise Dr. *Calamy's Abridgement of Baxter's Life*, chap. 14. p. 373. *Benner's Memorial of the Reformation*, &c. p. 400.

rel, was an ambitious Design of the Church, to exalt her own Honour, and stifle theirs.

How little Truth there is in this Objection, the Reader, I hope, will be convinced, by the following Letters, from the *Licensers* of the Press, to Dr. Walker, justifying themselves from this Charge. * ‘Honoured Sir, It happens providentially, that when the publick Calumny you mention was thrown upon the *Licensers*, under the late Archbishop *Sancroft*, and my Lord of London, all of them should be living to vindicate themselves, except the admirably learned Dr. *Maurice*; and what he knew of this matter, may be collected from the Preface of his excellent Answer to Mr. *Clarkson*, in which he has these remarkable Words, evincing, that he saw none of the *Dissenters* Writings against the *Papists*, at that critical Time: [For God sake tell me, who maintain’d Protestant Principles then, upon the Foundation of the Dissenters? But the *Serpent*, and other venomous *Vermin*, are subtiller than the other Beasts of the Field; for in hard Weather, they are not to be found upon the Face of the Earth, but are crept into their Holes; but when a warm Season comes, they crawl out, and snap at the Heels of those that had endured the Severity of the Winter.’] Dr. *Isham* goes on: ‘As to myself, the meanest of the Number, I can safely declare, that I remember not so much as one Book against *Popery* amongst all the *Dissenters*, that was brought to me, for my Hand, in the Reign of King *James*. They gave indeed the Post of Honour to the Clergy, who did not disgrace it in that critical Juncture; and tho’ I might lay asleep some Pieces written in this Controversy, for the Imprudence

* *Wesley’s Reply to Palmer’s Vindication*, p. 53. *Presbyterian Prejudice display’d*, in Answer to Mr. *Benjamin Bennet’s Memorial of the Reformation*, p. 81.

of them, yet I am sure I never rejected any one,
 because the Author was a Dissenter; and some
 of the Bookfellers of that Side may do me the Ju-
 stice to testify, that I licensed several Books of
 other Arguments, which came from Dissenters,
 and that I never made any Objection or Diffe-
 rence in this Case. I confess, by my Lord's ear-
 ly Suspension, (for his great Services to the
 Church of *England*) I was soon disabled from
 intermeddling in this Affair; but I had the Ho-
 nour to be of his Family almost a Year before
 it; and in that space gave sufficient Offence, by
 licensing the eminent Bishop *Stillingfleet's* Answer
 to the King's Papers, and refusing Dr. *Cart-
wright's* infamous Sermon for the dispensing
 Power. The same thankless Office I was restored
 to at the Revolution, and did then as little please
 some powerful Men, who regarded me with an
 evil Eye. And that, Sir, which I desire you to
 gather from hence, is, that in both Reigns I
 discharged my Trust with Integrity; and there-
 fore you may rely, with greater Confidence, on
 this Account, from,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

Z. Isham.

Dr. *Alston* was his Brother Chaplain, whose Te-
 stimony is as follows.

Reverend Sir,

* In answer to yours, this is to acquaint you,
 that I was Chaplain to my Lord Bishop of *Lon-
don*, from the Year 1683, to the Year 1696.
 and that I don't remember that any one Book

* *Wesley* against *Palmer*, p. 54.

was

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‘ was offered me for a License, by a *Dissenter* from
‘ the Church of *England*.

‘ Sir,

London, March
1703-4.

‘ Your humble Servant,

Charles Alston.

* All being cleared at *London House*, (says Mr. *Westley*) we may venture over to *Lambeth*; and we have Dr. *Batteley*’s Certificate, in these Words:

Canterbury, September 12, 1704.

‘ Reverend Sir,

‘ You are pleased, in your Letter, to ask me
‘ two Questions. First, How long I had the ho-
‘ nour to serve his Grace of *Canterbury*, as his
‘ Chaplain? I answer, From the Year 1688.
‘ 2dly, Whether in that time any Tracts against
‘ *Poper*y, written by the Dissenters, were brought
‘ to me, and refused; and what were the true Rea-
‘ sons of refusing them? I answer, That I do
‘ not remember that any Tract against *Poper*y
‘ was ever brought to me by any Dissenter, known
‘ by me to be such; but I very well remember,
‘ that we at *Lambeth*, when the Controversy had
‘ lasted some time, wondred we heard nothing
‘ from that Quarter. As for those Books I refused
‘ to license, they were such, whose Language was
‘ indiscreet, and their Arguments weak, and so
‘ not likely to do a good Cause either Credit or
‘ Service, but rather the contrary. And if any
‘ of the *Dissenters* Tracts happen’d to be of that
‘ Number, or of that Character, (which may not
‘ be impossible) then they fared as the rest did.

* *Id.* p. 55.

‘ But

‘ But that any Book either in or out of that Controversy was ever refused a License by me, because
 ‘ written by a *Dissenter*, is *absolutely false*; and so
 ‘ much you may, as you desire, let those who are
 ‘ concerned in this Calumny know, from,

‘ Reverend Sir,

‘ Your humble Servant,

John Batteley.

Mr. *Needham* was the other Chaplain at *Lambeth*, whose Letter follows in Mr. *Wesley*’s Reply.

October 25, 1705.

‘ I do hereby certify, That I had the honour to
 ‘ serve the most Reverend the Lord Archbishop
 ‘ *Sancroft*, as his domestic Chaplain, from the be-
 ‘ ginning of the Controversy, to the end of it; as
 ‘ it was managed by the Advocates for the *Papists*
 ‘ Religion; on one side, and by the learned Mini-
 ‘ sters of the Church of *England*, as by Law esta-
 ‘ blished, on the other, during the Reign of the
 ‘ late King *James II.* In all which time, I do
 ‘ not remember, that ever I refused to give License
 ‘ to any one Book written in that Controversy, by
 ‘ any Dissenters from the said Church, nor indeed
 ‘ that any one Book so written, was ever offered to
 ‘ me to be licensed. I never, that I know of, gave
 ‘ reason to suspect, that any such Book would
 ‘ have met with any Difficulty in obtaining from
 ‘ me any such License, as I usually gave to others;
 ‘ I wish’d, and expected, but in vain, that some
 ‘ learned Men among the *Dissenters*, would have
 ‘ given me the opportunity of showing how ready
 ‘ I should have been to have recommended to the
 ‘ Publick,

Publick, such part of the Defence of our Cause against our common Adversaries, as they should have thought proper to have taken to themselves, in conjunction with our conforming Brethren, in that Time of Difficulty and Danger: but it was an Opinion prevailing amongst us, that they were under such * *Engagements at that Time, as made it improper for them to interpose in that Contention for our Religion.* This is what, in due Regard to Truth, I think myself obliged to testify under my Hand.

William Needham, Rector of Arlesford.

But Mr. Palmer proceeds to Particulars, in the following manner: † ‘ *Whatever were the Reasons of silencing the Dissenters, they ought not to be reproached for it by those, who by force restrained them, and would not permit them to write.* He instances in a Book of *Hanmer's*, which he says was refused a License, because it was known to be writ by a Dissenter: In Mr. *Pendlebury's* Discourse of *Transubstantiation*, which was rejected for the same Reason, tho' recommended by Dr. *Claget*: And in the Account of the Rise of the Name *Protestant*, for which a License could not be obtained by Dr. *Isham*, who said the Author was a saucy Fellow, for calling the Pope *Antichrist*. His last Instance is, of Mr. *Baxter's* Offer, to produce a Piece against *Popery* once a Month, which, he says, was rejected with Scorn; and obliges the Reputation of his Character to make good all this as Matter of Fact.’

* *Wesley* against *Palmer*, p. 61. ‘ Were not we (says Mr. *Wesley*) persecuted in that Reign, and yet did this hinder us from defending our holy Religion, at the same time that the Dissenters were hugg'd and caressed, created *Regulators*, and made *Judges, Jusices, and Magistrates* throughout all England?’

† *Id.* p. 51.

Upon

Upon how slender a Twig the *Reputation of his Character* would have hung, had it depended upon the making good these Particulars, the following Letter of Dr. *Isbam* to Dr. *Walker*, in answer to the like Objections made by Mr. *Robinson*, plainly proves.

‘ Honoured Sir,

* ‘ Since you so kindly accepted my former Letter, I am not afraid of venturing another upon the same Subject. Mr. *Robinson’s* Story, I believe to be a pure *Romance*, and that his Memory cannot be so faithful, notwithstanding his Warmth and Vehemency to remember precisely my Words to him, at the distance of above 18 Years. But a fruitful Invention will supply the place of a good Memory. I declare upon the Word of a *Christian*, that I remember not one Syllable of the whole Matter: and there are two Circumstances that make me confident of the Falsity of it. The one is, my calling the Author *Fellow*, which is a Term of Contempt very unusual in my Mouth, and very unlikely to be thrown by me, in those days, on any Writers against *Popery*. The other Circumstance is, that I should reflect on the Homilies, and say, Now we had learned more Manners; whereas for above 20 Years, I have had so just an Esteem of that excellent Book, that I am sure I never vilified any part of it. As for the Foundation of this blind Report, what my Opinion is concerning the great *Antichrist*, I need not trouble you with. But ’tis no established Doctrine of our Church, that the *Pope* is this *Man of Sin*; and therefore to represent him indecently as such, and to draw invidious Consequences, which flow from this Notion, could be, I think, neither Prudence nor

* *Wesley*, p. 59.

‘ Manners,

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‘ Manners, when King *James* was in the Height
 ‘ of his Power, and the *Jesuits* taking all Occa-
 ‘ sions to incense him against the Clergy. Did any
 ‘ of the *Dissenters* intimate, that he was the Son of
 ‘ *Antichrist*, when they made their Addresses of
 ‘ Thanks to him? As for Mr. *Baxter*, I never
 ‘ obstructed his writing against *Popery*; one at
 ‘ least of his Books, I licensed: and if he had pre-
 ‘ pared any thing against the common Enemy,
 ‘ without striking * obliquely at our Church, I
 ‘ would certainly have forwarded them for the
 ‘ Press. And since Mr. *Robinson* knew so well the
 ‘ way to *London-House*, how came so hopeful a
 ‘ Design to miscarry? I fear Mr. *Baxter*’s Pen
 ‘ was then otherwise employ’d, and what has ap-
 ‘ pear’d of his since the *Revolution*, the *Papists* have
 ‘ no reason to complain of. The other Allega-
 ‘ tions concerning Dr. *Claget*, and the Confuter of
 ‘ *Transubstantiation*, I am utterly ignorant of; and
 ‘ since the Slanders are not cast upon me personally,
 ‘ I shall take no pains to wipe them off. But, Sir,
 ‘ I am ashamed to see what mean Shifts these Gentle-
 ‘ men use to support a sinking Cause. This is not
 ‘ the way of Peace, nor of *Christianity*: God send
 ‘ a better Spirit among us, and put a stop to our
 ‘ dangerous Contentions, which are such a Grief to
 ‘ all peaceable Men, and a Sport only to the Haters
 ‘ of Religion. And thus, Sir, having satisfied your
 ‘ Enquiry, I wish Success to your Work, and that
 ‘ it may continue both to the honour of our Church,
 ‘ and healing of our Differences; and I am,

‘ Sir,

‘ Your most humble and obedient Servant,

Solihall, October 24,
 1704.

Z. Isbam.

* Some of their late *two-edged Champions* at *Salters Hall*,
 have taken this very Method, of reflecting *obliquely* upon the
 Church of *England*, in their Sermons against *Popery*.

As

As to *Cambridge* and *Oxford* (Mr. *Westley* informs us, p. 53. that) there was no Dispute; and that Mr. *Palmer* owns, Mr. *Hanmer* had an *Imprimatur* from Dr. *Jane*, for one of his Books. I shall conclude therefore with the Words of a late very ingenious Writer, who lived in those Times: * ‘ An observing *Italian* (*says he*) has given us an Account of a Transaction, which is not so well known amongst us, as many others of the like nature. He acquaints us, that in an Assembly of *Catholicks*, as he calls them, which were brought together by the late Earl of *Bristol*, a Consultation was held concerning the fittest Means of propagating their Religion in this Kingdom: and they agreed, that one of the most proper Methods they could make use of for that purpose, was to testify a mighty Zeal, and to make a great Shew of Friendship for the *Nonconformists*. Whereupon, *he tells us*, they represented them as Men of Trade, whose Sufferings would be prejudicial to the Nation. They pretended to commiserate their Condition, and declaimed perpetually against Persecution. And there were two things, *he says*, which they proposed to themselves, in this Conduct.

‘ The first was, to maintain the *Sectaries* against the Church of *England*; hoping they might sooner destroy it by intestine Divisions, and so more easily open a Gate to *Popery*. The second was, under a pretence of tolerating these *Sectaries*, to stop the Execution of the Laws about Religion, that their *Priests* might meet with less Opposition in advancing the Religion of the Church of *Rome*.

‘ In pursuance of this Design, as my Author also informs us, they prevail’d with King *Charles II.* to issue out his Declaration for Liberty of Con-

* Mr. *Robert Burscough’s* Preface to his Treatise of Church-Government, p. 1, 2, 3, 4.

science; which was recalled by Interposition of *Parliament*: but the Project which was then happily blasted by the Parliament, revived to amazement in the following Reign. The Nation had the pain to see a *Jesuit* made a Privy-Counsellor and Prime Minister of State, and the *Protestant* Dissenters very deep in his Interests, and warm under his Influence; to see these *Dissenters* so liberally offering up their *Incense* to the Court, which was then labouring to enslave us to the *Pope*, and the Court answering their Devotion with many Favours; for so it was, as every body knows. And when this Alliance was confirmed between them, hardly a Week passed over our heads, which did not bring us fresh Intelligence of their mutual Endearments.

What I have said of the *Dissenters*, must not be understood of the whole Body of them, without exception: for to do them right, some of them were afflicted at the shameful Confederacy, in which their Brethren were engaged; but neither in Number, nor in Zeal and Diligence, did they equal those, who beheld our Church in Distress, with such Eyes as the Children of *Edom* looked on *Jerusalem* in the Day of her Adversity, when they cry'd to the *Babylonians*, *Raze it, raze it to the Foundation*.—* It is observable, that the Kindness of the *Papists* put them into a strange Fit of Complaisance, and was the Cause, that either they employ'd their Pens in the Service of the Church of *Rome*, or not against it; but the Obligations which they had received from the *Conformists*, instead of abating, have inflamed their Rage, and given them Encouragement to write abundance of Books, such as they are, against the Church of *England*.—

* Preface, p. 5.

Again; * * In the Opinion, you see, of this Gentleman, the Clergy were then so very dangerous, when with so much Courage they threw themselves in the Breach, that was made by the *Dispensing Power*, and were asserting and labouring to preserve our Laws and Liberties, which others were offering up in Sacrifice: they were then conveying their Malignity to the People, when with their Books and Sermons, they defended the Cause of the Reformation with so much Success, that *Papery* lay gasping before them in great Agonies, notwithstanding the Cordials that were administered to it with other hands. And then the King was uneasy, because his Endeavours to establish his Religion, did not make the Impressions he desired: and the *Jesuits* and their Associates were uneasy, because their Measures were broken, and their Expectation of extirpating the *Northern Heresy* defeated; and such of the *Dissenters*, as had been assisting and pushing them on in *Works of Darknefs*, were uneasy at the Reproach they had brought upon themselves, by their ill Conduct. But in the rest of the Nation, there appeared a general Satisfaction to see Truth prevailing by lawful Methods, against the Errors of the Church of *Rome*, when they were covered with a powerful Protection.*

* Preface, p. 17.

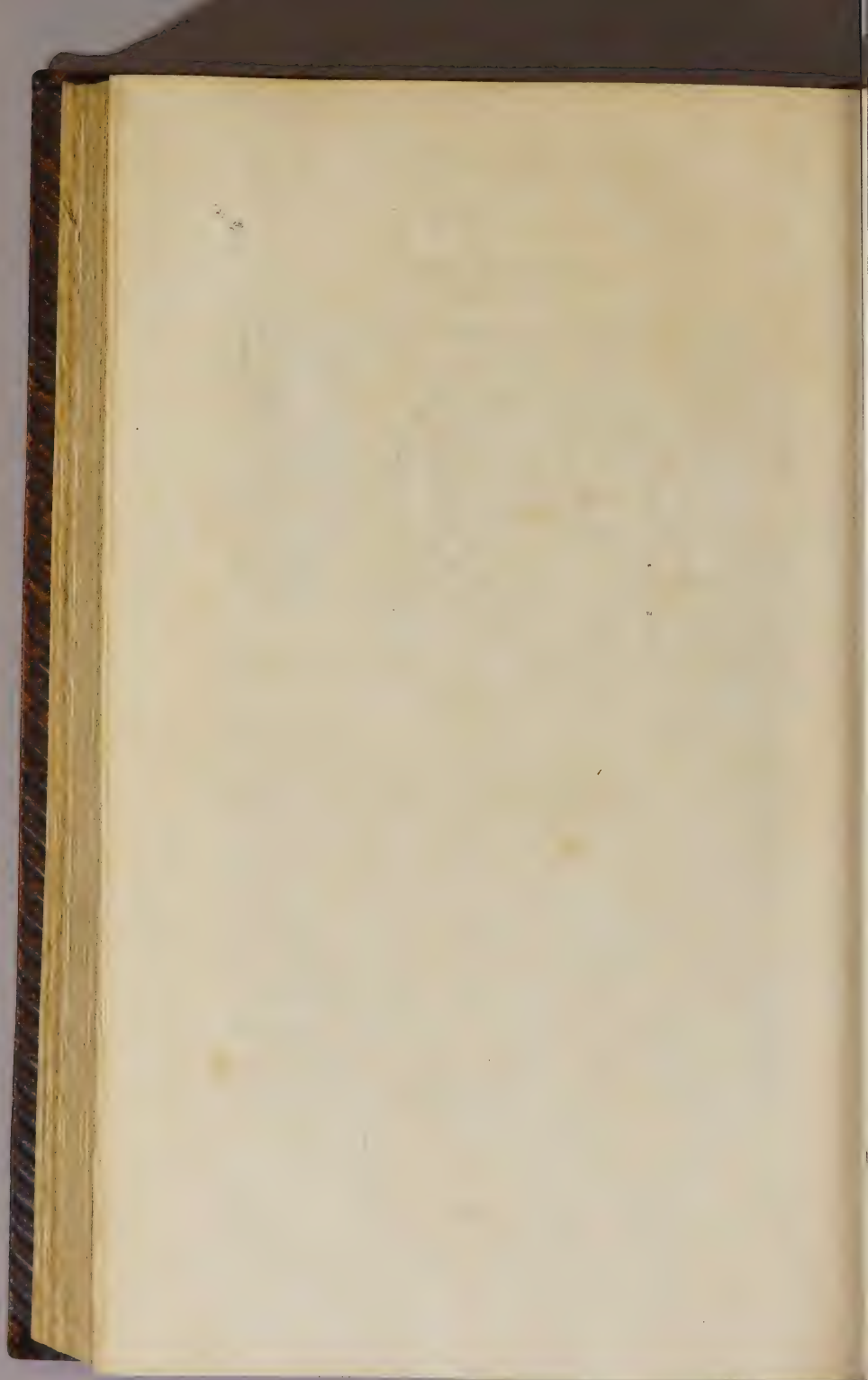
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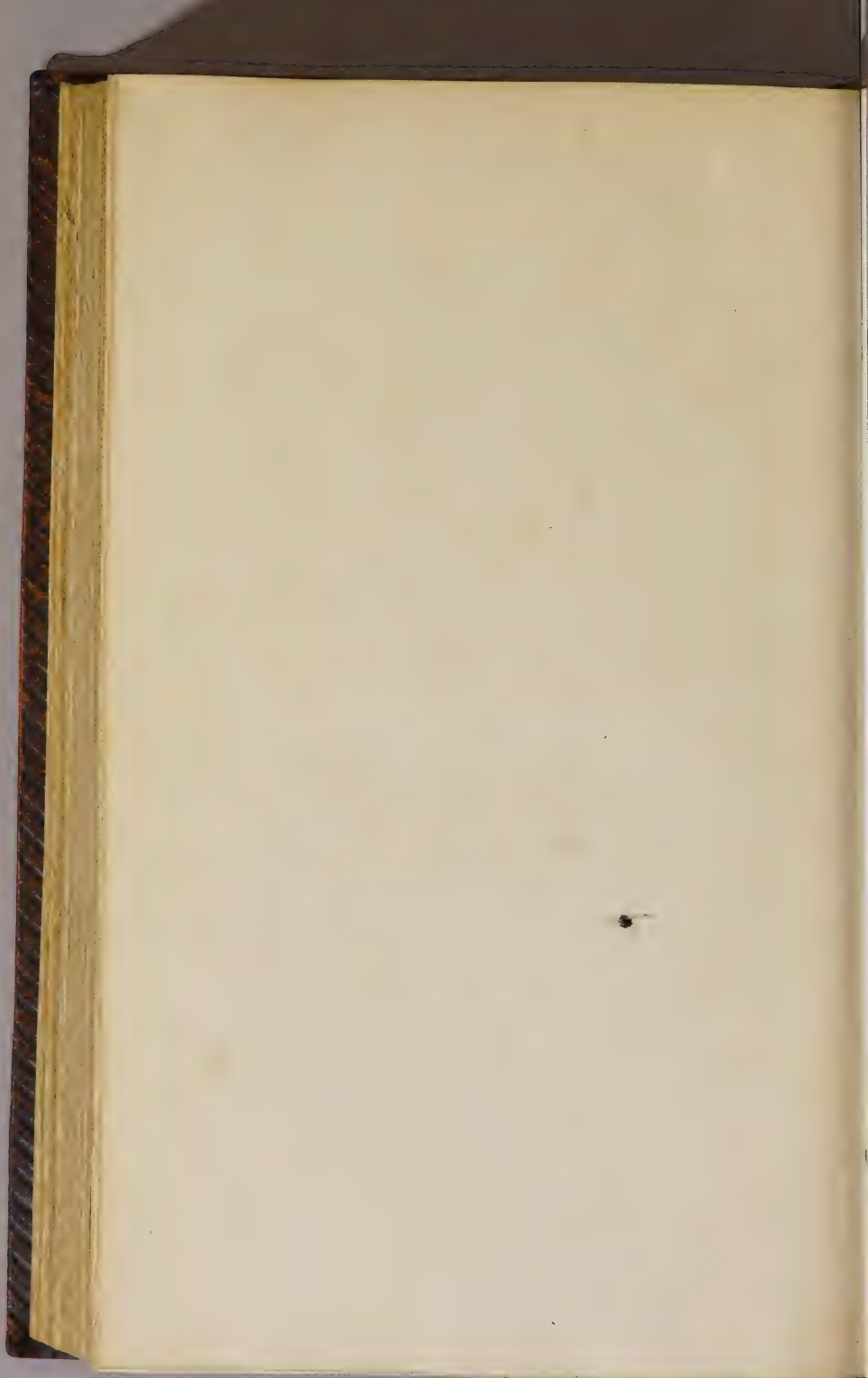
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ERRATA

PAge 2, line 17. read *Puritans*. p. 5, Marg. l. 1, r. 322. p. 6, l. penult, r. 596. p. 9, l. pen. r. *Βασιλικόν*. p. 23, l. 18, add *not*. l. pen. add *Pamphlet*. p. 24, l. 16, r. ? p. 36, l. 30, r. *shew*. p. 37, l. 17, add *ourselves*. p. 39, l. 4, r. *but so*. p. 52, l. 29, r. 1609. p. 53, l. 35, after *suppose* add *]*. p. 79, l. 13, r. *coercive*. p. 92, l. 29, add *that*. l. ult. r. p. 1687. p. 93, l. 14, r. *have given*. p. 95, l. 36, r. *their*. p. 96, l. 36, r. *pretending*. p. 97, l. 2, r. *replied*, l. 20, r. *Advancements*. p. 100, l. 12, r. *shew*. p. 106, l. 27, r. *audacious*. p. 119, l. 20, r. *shew*. p. 127, l. ult. r. 483. p. 129, l. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, del. inverted Commas. Marg. l. r. del. *Rogers's*, &c. l. 7. r. *aliquam*. l. ult. r. *Superfitione*. after *ter* del. , p. 131, l. 1. r. *Covenant*. p. 134, l. 11, del. *Mr. Pryn*. l. ib. r. *Mr. Pryn saying no more*. p. 141, l. 5. r. *cure*. p. 144, l. 20, add *]*. p. 145, l. 30, r. *Mr. Neal*. p. 157, l. 29, r. *Objection*. p. 160, l. 11, after *founded* add *&c*. p. 161, l. 9, r. *are to be*. l. 19, r. *sufficient*, l. 22, add *Ecclesiastical*. p. 162, l. 28, for *in*, r. *as to*. p. 166, l. 16, r. *that*. p. 183, l. 21, r. *Senior Westminster*. p. 186, l. 25, qu. *conforming*. p. 187, l. 20, r. *that is*. p. 206, l. 3, r. *Government*. p. 209, l. ult. r. 104. p. 211, l. pen. r. *Trial*. p. 215, l. 12, r. *were*. p. 224, l. 20, r. *gaudent*. l. 32, r. *Laurent*. p. 231, l. 8, r. *his*. Marg. l. 16, r. *questum*. p. 232, l. 29, r. *says he*. p. 235, l. 5, after *Expressions* add *if rightly understood*. p. 239, l. 29, r. *says generally*. p. 242, l. 6, Marg. r. *Pearson's*. p. 244, l. 29, after *Agitation*, r. after *swarm*, del. , p. 263, l. 29, after *took it*, add *&c*. p. 272, l. 30, read *occasion*. l. ult. add *Vol. II*. p. 429. p. 304, l. 27, add *to*. p. 315, l. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, del. inverted Commas. l. 15, r. *That they*. l. 19, del. *they*. p. 323, l. ult. r. 482. p. 334, l. 2, r. *No such Argument*. p. 346, l. 9, Marg. *transferr'd*. qu. p. 347, l. pen. r. *Demands*. p. 376, l. 1, r. *in the Pulpit*. p. 380, l. 6, add *Neal*, p. 596. p. 383, Marg. l. 5, 6, &c. del. inverted Commas. p. 384, l. 24, r. *spoke*. p. 388, Marg. l. 2, add p. 101. p. 391, l. 13, r. *heartily*. p. 396, l. 10, r. 1648. p. 4. p. 413, l. 35, r. *says*. p. 415, l. ult. r. 436. p. 416, l. 20, r. *hurried away*. p. 424, 425, 426, 427, 429, 430, 432, for *Wesley*, r. *Wesley*.





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